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Statements of the CHINESE DELEGATION

SAO-KE ALFRED SZE

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FOREWORD

The publication of this collection of the more important of the statements made by the Chinese Delegation in the two International Opium Conferences held at Geneva in the winter of 1924-1925 has been deemed desirable for two reasons. In the first place, it has been thought that the ends of convenience would be served by thus presenting in a measurably brief but authentic manner the positions taken and the views expressed by the representatives of the Chinese Government in the Conferences. In the second place, it has been repeatedly urged that something should be done to show to the compiler's countrymen how misleading were some of the newspaper reports sent out to China at the time the Conferences were in session. And, incidental to this second service, it has been hoped that the Chinese press will be further awakened to the desirability of organizing, by co-operative effort, a foreign news service of its own which will render it less dependent upon the private or pseudo-private news agencies of other countries.

That the collection and publication of these statements should have been postponed until the present time is due, in considerable measure at least, to the fact that they deal with matters which have caused regrettable bitterness of international feeling, and,

this being so, it was thought best that they should not be given additional publicity at a time when there was already considerable public excitement arising out of the events which occurred at Shanghai during May of last year.

The statements here published were all made by the Chief of the Chinese delegation, who, of course, acted as the spokesman for his colleagues after having obtained the benefit of their counsel. In so doing he acted according to the custom followed, with but few and occasional exceptions, by all the other delegations to the Conferences.

The hearty support given by the Chinese delegation to the American proposal that a definite date for the termination of the traffic in opium for other than strictly scientific and medicinal purposes appears in the statements included in the present volume, but the compiler cannot forbear from again stating in this place his conviction that the American formula is the only one which can be depended upon to realize that end to which the Powers pledged themselves in 1912 when, in the Hague Opium Convention, they declared it to be their purpose to take measures for the progressive and effective suppression of the traffic in prepared opium. It is the firm conviction of the compiler that sooner or later all the governments will accept and adopt the American proposals regarding the progressive and effective suppression of the traffic in prepared opium and the reduction of the production of raw opium so that there will be no surplus

available for other than scientific and medicinal purposes. When this stage will be reached will depend on the awakening of public opinion to the full realization of the seriousness of this great moral problem and to the consequent demand that the governments concerned shall sacrifice their immediate and sordid interests for the common good of humanity. Genuine international co-operation, controlled by pure humanitarian motives, is essential. It is to be hoped that this co-operation will soon be secured.

The Minutes and Proceedings of the two Opium Conferences have been published by the Secretariat of the League of Nations, and from these reports the material here published has been taken. It will be noted that the reports of statements made in the First Conference are in the third person. This was because those reports were not verbatim. The reports in Second Conference, upon the contrary, purport to be verbatim, and, consequently, the first person is employed.

SAO-KE ALFRED SZE.

Washington, D. C., April 20, 1926.

PART I

THE FIRST OPIUM CONFERENCE

IMPORTANT STATEMENTS OF THE CHINESE DELEGATION

THE FIRST CONFERENCE

INTRODUCTION

By Resolution 5, adopted on September 27, 1923, the Assembly of the League approved the recommendation of the Advisory Committee of the League on Traffic in Opium and Other Dangerous Drugs that the Governments concerned should be invited "to enter into negotiations with a view to the conclusion of an agreement as to the measures for giving effective application in the Far Eastern territories to Part II of the (Hague) Convention and as to a reduction of the amount of raw opium to be imported for the purpose of smoking in those territories where it is temporarily continued, and as to the measures which should be taken by the Government of the Republic of China to bring about the suppression of the illegal production and use of opium in China," and that, for this purpose, the Governments concerned should be invited to send representatives with plenipotentiary powers to a Conference and to report the result of their labors to the Council at the earliest possible date.

This invitation to the Governments concerned was duly issued and accepted, the Conference assembled, and, on February 11, 1925, an Agreement was signed by representatives of the Powers other than those of the Chinese Republic.

The considerations moving the Chinese delegation to decline to sign the Agreement drawn up by the Conference are set forth in the memorandum submitted by the delegation at the time of its withdrawal from the Conference. This memorandum is included in the present volume.

As declared in the invitation to the participating Powers, the purpose of the Conference was to be the conclusion of an agreement for giving effective application in the Far Eastern territories to Part II of the Hague Convention, namely, to the undertaking to bring about the gradual and effective suppression of the legalized smoking of opium in those territories in which smoking of opium was to be temporarily continued, and as to the measures to be taken by the Government of the Republic of China to bring about the suppres-

sion of the illegal production and use of opium within its own borders.

As to measures thus to be taken by China, the Chinese delegation took early occasion to point out to the Conference that its Government still adhered rigidly to the policy of absolute prohibition of the production and use of opium in China and the limitation of its importation into China to amounts needed for strictly medicinal and scientific purposes, and that from this stringent policy its Government would not depart. The Chinese delegation frankly recognized that owing to disturbed political conditions in China there had been, to a certain extent, during recent years a most regrettable illegal recrudescence in China of the production and use of opium, but gave formal assurance that, at all times, and in all feasible ways, the Government of China would, to the extent of its administrative and executive power, seek to secure effective enforcement of its policy as thus declared. In this effort, the co-operation of the other Powers was asked for in so far as they could give it by effectively suppressing within their own sev-

eral territories the use of prepared opium and the exportation of raw or prepared opium. As to this assurance and request the following may be quoted from the statement made by Mr. Sao-Ke Alfred Sze, on November 7, in answer to the question put to him by Sir Malcolm Delevingne of the British delegation as to the grounds upon which the Powers would be justified in accepting the assurance of the Chinese delegation that, as soon as a stable Government was secured in China, it would be disposed and able to adopt effective measures for the suppression of the illegal production and use of opium within China. Mr. Sze said:

> The same question was asked at the Conference held at Shanghai in 1909 and again at the Hague Conference in 1912. The record of the Chinese Government made from 1907 to 1917 is the best evidence that such apprehension (of the Government's inability or indisposition to act) need not be held. Furthermore, look at the Province of Shansi with a population of over eleven millions and an area of over eighty-one thousand square miles. What has been accomplished in such an important province under such unfavorable conditions can certainly be duplicated in the other provinces when the general conditions in China

become better. Furthermore, when the Government finds itself in a better position to enforce its will, it will be supported by a public opinion much stronger and more enlightened than it was during the period of 1907 to 1917. As I stated on Wednesday, popular education is making rapid strides in its progress, and so are the sciences of medicine, hygiene, etc. Evidence of the widespread and growing public opinion opposed to the cultivation of the poppy is abundant, and some of it, as I understand, is in possession of the Secretariat.

As to the growth of this public opinion, evidence appears in the remarkable statement of Mr. T. Z. Koo made to the Second Opium Conference, and which is included in the present volume.

At the eleventh meeting of the Conference (November 13) the Japanese delegation moved a resolution that the Conference, trusting in the declarations of the Chinese delegate, should declare itself ready to collaborate in a friendly manner with China with a view to the suppression of the opium evil. This resolution was not put to a vote "in view of the fact," as stated by the President of the Conference, "that the good faith of any Government or any representative could never be questioned and therefore should not be ex-

plicitly affirmed." In effect, this was an acceptance by the Conference of the assurance by the Chinese delegation that its Government would, to the extent of its power, take and enforce those measures called for in the Resolution of the Assembly of the League and the invitation of the Council of the League to the Powers to send representatives to the Conference.

It is believed, then, that all will agree that, at the Conference, China did all that, under the existing circumstances, could be expected of it. It could do no more, no Government could possibly do more, than declare that it would pursue a policy of absolute prohibition with regard to the production, importation and use of opium for other than strictly medicinal and scientific purposes, and that it would employ all its administrative and executive power for the effective enforcement of that policy.

As to the action to be taken by the other Powers with reference to the effective suppression of the use of prepared opium, the Chinese Government is deeply concerned by reason of the fact that it is chiefly and in some

cases exclusively to its own citizens living within the territories and possessions of these Powers that prepared opium is sold and permitted to be consumed, and also because the suppression of this use will greatly assist China in her efforts to prevent the illegal production and use of opium within her own borders.

It was with profound regret that the Chinese delegation found that the other Powers represented in the Conference were unwilling to adopt the measures which, as stated in the invitation to the Powers, it was the expectation of the Council of the League of Nations they would adopt.

To the specific matter of the reduction of the amount of raw opium to be imported for the purpose of smoking mentioned in the invitation of the Council no serious attention was given by the Powers. As to the effective application of Part II of the Hague Convention, the other Powers, though urged to do so by the Chinese and Japanese delegations, not only refused to set a specific date at which the legalized manufacture, sale, and consumption of prepared opium would be brought to an

end within their several jurisdictions, but also declined to provide for the adoption of systems of control or regulation which would, by their operation, necessarily lead to the progressive diminution and final cessation of the temporarily legalized opium smoking within their several borders. As a result, the only Power which at present has in operation a system of control and regulation which will automatically lead to that result is Japan with reference to her Formosan possession.

The Chinese delegation urged in the Conference that the Powers should agree that the revenues, direct and indirect, derived by them from the importation of raw opium for the purpose of smoking, and from the manufacture and sale of prepared opium would be used for the moral and physical betterment of the persons or classes of persons who were allowed to purchase and consume the opium. The objection made to this proposal was that, for technical budgetory reasons, it was not feasible thus to earmark or segregate particular items of income for specific expenditure purposes. It scarcely needs to be pointed out, however, that this objection, in so far as

it is a real one, can be easily overcome by conveying into the public treasuries all such revenues, and then providing in the annual budgets appropriations for the purposes indicated, and fixing the amounts of these appropriations by the amounts that it is estimated will be received from the importation of raw opium and the manufacture and sale of prepared opium, etc.

The Chinese delegation further urged in the Conference that, in order that there might be no inducement upon the part of retail sellers to push the sale of prepared opium, they should, in all cases, be paid fixed salaries by the Governments concerned and not by commissions upon sales. This obligation the other Powers in the Conference were not willing to assume.

Still further, the Chinese delegation vainly urged in the Conference that a system of licensing (or registration) and rationing of those addicted to the use of prepared opium similar to that of Japan in Formosa, should be adopted by the other Powers which, in its operation, would necessarily lead to a progressive reduction and ultimate suppression

within a comparatively short time of the legalized sale and use of prepared opium.

The failure of the other Powers to adopt the foregoing measures and policies, coupled with the sanction given by them to the provisions contained in the Agreement that has been signed, justifies the conclusion that the Powers which signed it, with the exception of Japan in Formosa, have no present intention of introducing systems for the legalized control of the use of prepared opium which will necessarily operate to bring about that gradual and effective suppression of this use which they have promised in Article VI of the Hague Convention and which, in the Preamble of the Agreement just signed, they declare is still their intention. That there is ground for this belief upon the part of the Chinese delegation is shown by the impression which this Agreement has made upon the Right Reverend Bishop Brent, and which he has declared in his published statement addressed to the members of the Second Opium Conference and entitled "An Appeal to My Colleagues."

With such a conviction as this, the Chinese delegation could take no other action than to withhold its signature to the Agreement.

Throughout the Conference a persistent attempt was made by the other Powers to excuse themselves from taking effective action for bringing about the early and complete suppression of the legalized use of prepared opium upon the ground that this was rendered impracticable by reason of the extent to which illicit traffic in raw opium prevails in the Far East. This justification the Powers saw fit to state in a Protocol annexed to the Agreement signed by them.

This Protocol is based upon certain resolutions which were adopted by the Conference at the seventeenth meeting. At that time, the Chinese delegation refused to approve this Resolution and registered its disapproval in a formal statement to that effect. Notwithstanding this fact, the Drafting Committee made no mention whatever of China's dissentient attitude in the Protocol that was drafted. By so doing the Drafting Committee clearly failed faithfully to execute the task assigned to it. When its report came up for

acceptance by the Conference, the Chinese delegation pointed out this failure and asked that the formal statement of disapproval which the delegation had made should be included as a part of the Protocol. This request was refused by the Conference, and the Chinese delegation was denied even the right of a roll-call of the delegations upon the matter. The statement which the Chinese delegation desired to have included in the Protocol appears in the present volume.

As to this matter of illicit traffic in opium in the Far East, it is to be said that the Chinese delegation admitted its existence, as it also did the fact that its existence renders more difficult the effective suppression of the use of prepared opium. But the Chinese delegation asserted that this fact furnished no sufficient justification to the Powers, within whose territories or possessions the use of prepared opium is still legalized, to refuse to establish within their several jurisdictions systems of control whose normal operation will be to bring to an early and certain end this legalized use. The Chinese delegation pointed out that, with such systems of control

in existence and operation, the Powers would be in a position to take instant advantage of any diminution in extent of this illicit traffic and thus accelerate the movement towards the complete suppression of the use of prepared opium. It was also the opinion of the Chinese delegation that it had not been demonstrated that, in fact, the Powers, with the exception of Japan, had taken as energetic action as they might have done to suppress this illicit traffic in opium. This appeared to be the opinion also of the Japanese delegation which pointed out the almost complete success that had resulted from the measures taken by its Government to prevent smuggling of opium into Formosa and Korea and the home islands of Japan.

One further feature of the work of the First Conference needs to be noted. At the second meeting, after considerable discussion, it was decided, largely as a result of the insistence of the Chinese delegation, that the plenary meetings of the Conference should be public. The Chinese delegation gave its approval to the proposition that the meetings of committees and sub-committees might be in

private only after it had been agreed that each delegation should have the right to make public a statement of its own position with reference to matters discussed at such meetings. So far as the Chinese delegation was concerned, however, this provision was made nugatory by the action of the Conference at its seventh meeting. There was then appointed a committee composed of the representatives of France, Great Britain, the Netherlands and Japan, to consider the rates of consumption of prepared opium in the various territories and possessions in the Far East, the reasons for variations in such consumption, the examination and comparison of different systems of control in existence, and the problem of smuggling. The Chinese delegation asked that it might be represented upon this Committee, but this request was refused. In result, this Committee, which held its meetings in private and issued no minutes or communiques, henceforth did much of the work of the Conference, holding as it did more meetings than did the Conference itself sitting *in pleno* and in public. In fact the Agreement and the Protocol that were finally signed

were based directly upon the draft propositions presented by this Committee, from whose deliberations the Chinese delegation as well as the public were wholly excluded.

At the time that the Chinese delegation consented to the establishment of committees which might sit in private, assurance was given that such committee would deal only with special and highly technical questions.[1] How little force was given by the Conference to this assurance is shown by the scope of the report of the Committee.

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[1] "The President [of the Conference] pointed out to M. Sze that the questions to be discussed by the Committee would bear on the actual rate of consumption and the great divergence between those rates of consumption in the different countries; the examination of the system of control; the laws and administrations of the various countries; the considerable difference of opinion regarding systems of registration; smuggling and the sources from which it came."—*Minutes of the Seventh Meeting, November 6, 1924.*

PROPOSALS OF CHINESE DELEGATION TO THE FIRST CONFERENCE

At the sixth meeting of the First Conference, Mr. Sze, on behalf of the Chinese delegation, made the following formal statement of the opium policy of the Chinese Government, and of the desires of that Government as to the action to be taken by the Conference. Mr. Sze said:

Before I read to you the statement that I have prepared I wish just to preface it with a word or two. My desire is to avoid any misunderstanding. I want to call your attention to the fact that I am not speaking in my mother tongue but in a foreign language and I have considerable difficulty in preparing statements of this kind. I wish, however, to ask for your co-operation, in case you should find not quite clear any expression, any sentence or any clause in the statement that I shall have the honor to read to you presently, and I should consider it a favor if you would call my attention to it and ask me to explain it.

China comes to the Conference with the earnest desire to co-operate to the extent of her sovereign powers with the other nations in the attempt to solve the serious problems connected with the misuse of opium, of the derivatives from opium, and of other narcotic drugs. Even more than other

nations, China has suffered, and still is suffering, from the acts of individuals over whom she has not had, and does not have, effective control by reason of the obligation that has been imposed upon her to concede extra-territorial rights to the nationals of certain of the Powers with which she has treaty relations.

Opium is not indigenous to China but was introduced into the country from abroad.

When the practice of smoking opium became widespread, and was seen to be an evil, the Chinese Government sought for many years to prevent the entrance of the drug into the country. Its importation was prohibited by law. Smuggling, however, continued. China's attempt to curtail this smuggling did not meet with the co-operation of those Powers the nationals of which were engaged in the traffic, and, in fact, the controversies that arose out of this effort of the Chinese Government to protect its own people against a practice that was debauching them was the immediate, if not the sole, cause of the first war in which China became unfortunately engaged with European Powers. As a result of this war, China was compelled to grant extra-territorial rights to the nationals of the Treaty Powers living within her borders and to submit to the dictation of foreign Powers as to what goods might or might not be imported into China and the customs dues that might be levied thereupon,

with the result that, within a few years, the importation of opium without limit as to amount was legalized.

Following upon this, the Chinese people, seeing that the product of the foreign-grown poppy was not to be excluded, began, to an increasing extent, to cultivate the plant.

The smoking of opium continued, however, to be recognized as an evil, and, finally, in 1907, China obtained from the British Government, from whose Indian possessions came most of the opium that was imported, an agreement that each year, for a period of ten years, it would reduce the total amount of opium exported from India by an amount equal to one-tenth of the amount then being exported to China, upon condition that the Chinese Government, upon its part, would, *pari passu*, bring to an end the cultivation of the poppy in China.

Certain of the foreigners who were concerned in the negotiation of this agreement have since frankly confessed that they had little expectation that China would be able to carry out her part of the agreement, but, to their surprise, and to that of the entire world, the Chinese Government, aided by the public opinion of the most enlightened of her people, was able to do this, with the result that, in 1917, the production of opium in China had come practically to an end, and Great Britain agreed that henceforth no Indian opium was to be exported to China. This has meant that, since that time, no opium, except in minute quantities

for medicinal or scientific use, has been legally introduced into China, for, with the other opium-producing countries, especially Turkey and Persia, China has no treaties that limit her right to control imports.

At the present time, no Power is more concerned than is China that, from the proceedings of this Conference, agreements should result which will hasten the movement for the total suppression of the use of prepared opium. She is concerned as to the welfare of the Chinese people living outside China as well as of those living within her own borders.

It is clear that this result cannot be hoped for without the whole-hearted co-operation of all the Powers which have territorial interests in the Far East. China frankly admits, and greatly regrets, that, due to temporary disturbed political conditions within her own borders, there has been, to a certain extent, a recrudescence of the cultivation of the poppy and of the production and use of prepared opium. This fact, no doubt, complicates and renders somewhat more difficult the solution of the problem with which the Conference is concerned, but it is to be borne in mind that this is but one element in the present situation, and that, serious as it is to the Chinese people living in China, it is of general or international significance only in so far as Chinese-produced opium finds its way outside the borders of China, and there is no certain evidence that this occurs to a very great extent. It

will, therefore, be unwise, as well as unjust to China, should the fact of the recrudescence of the production and use of prepared opium in China be made an excuse for non-action on the part of the Powers, or in any way allowed to discourage them from making every possible effort to bring to an end, within their several jurisdictions, the smoking of opium or the export of opium which will be used for that purpose. Equally it is to be hoped that the Powers will not feel justified in remitting their efforts to prevent practices upon the part of their nationals which render more difficult the task confronting China in her endeavor to surpress, within China, the production and use of prepared opium.

The Chinese delegation does not believe that any good will result from unconstructive criticism of each other upon the part of the Powers represented at this Conference, and, therefore, it is not disposed to mention in a fault-finding way certain of the evils, serious though they are, from which the Chinese people, in and outside China, are suffering by reason of the foreign-grown opium that is smuggled into China, and also by reason of the great amount of foreign manufactured narcotic drugs which are illegally introduced into and sold in China. This debauching traffic is for the most part carried on by nationals of foreign Powers.

This situation of affairs, with reference to the smuggling of narcotic drugs, is mentioned in this first Conference only because its effect is greatly to increase the difficulty of the task of the Chinese

Government in its efforts to enforce its laws which prohibit absolutely the production or the smoking of prepared opium. Reports have come from provincial authorities that, almost in proportion as they succeed in stamping out the smoking of opium, there is recourse, especially by the poorer classes, to these smuggled-in narcotic drugs. Thus, in a recent letter to the International Anti-Opium Association at Peking, His Excellency Wang Cheng-Pin, Civil Governor of the Metropolitan province of Chihli, says: "There are signs, I believe, if I am not too optimistic, that the opium evil may be stamped out in my province before long. But it is regretted that the greater the success of the opium suppression in Chihli, the more prevailing is the narcotic problem. This traffic in morphia, Chintan or white pills is more pernicious than opium to our Chihli people. China does not manufacture narcotics. The morphia, cocaine, heroin all come from abroad." If this be a true statement, and there is no reason for believing that it is not, it is evident that the enforcement of the laws in China against the production and use of prepared opium will be carried on under very discouraging conditions so long as effective steps are not taken greatly to lessen, if not wholly to put an end to, illicit trade in narcotic drugs.

Just as China hopes and expects that the other Powers will take such action as will render more easy the solution of her own problem with reference to opium and narcotic drugs, or at least that they

will place no hindrances in her way, so, reciprocally, she stands ready to do all that lies within her power to facilitate the efforts of other Governments to suppress the smoking of opium and the illicit use of narcotic drugs within their several jurisdictions.

Upon her part, China gives assurance that, when the present disturbed political conditions in her territory comes to an end, and a government with more effective administrative powers is established, the production and use of prepared opium will, in fact, be prevented. This will be one of the first reforms to which such a government will address itself. That she will then be able to repeat her remarkable achievement of the period from 1907 to 1917, there can be no reasonable doubt.

Enlightened public opinion in China is now more widespread than it then was, and is equally united in the belief that the smoking of opium is morally and physically debasing to those who indulge in it. Since 1907, the extension of education along modern lines has been very rapid. The doctrines, too, of scientific hygiene and medicine have become more generally known, and thus, when the Chinese Government finds itself happily enabled again to secure a more rigid enforcement of its laws and decrees throughout the provinces, it will have its efforts supported by an enlightened public opinion even more strongly than it was during the years from 1907 to 1917.

The International Anti-Opium Association, in one of its most recent publications, *Letters from*

Statesmen and Leaders on the Present Opium Conditions in China, has this to say of China's achievement of those years:

"When we consider the difficulties that lay in the way of this reform, such as the enormous numbers who had acquired the opium habit, the moral weakness brought on by the habitual use of the drug, the physical sufferings and dangers inseparable from a cure, the large amount of capital invested in the trade, the great profits easily made, the many engaged in the trade, both Chinese and foreign capitalists, agriculturalists, merchants and the like and also the important revenues in China and India, it does seem as if the impossible had been accomplished, and throughout the whole civilized world the Chinese Government and people were credited with having wrought a moral reformation almost without parallel in the history of the world."

China then had the especial sympathy and aid of Great Britain, India and the United States. She now hopes for the same sympathy and co-operation, not only from those States but also from the other Powers.

As evidence of this aid and co-operation, China asks not only that, as has already been indicated, the other Powers should do all that is in their power to prevent the entrance of narcotic drugs into illicit trade, but that they should take every possible step to bring to a speedy end the use of prepared opium in their several Far Eastern territories.

To this end, China asks of the Powers:

1. That the smoking of prepared opium be declared in unqualified terms to be a harmful and therefore illegitimate use of opium.

2. That the importation of opium into their several territories for other than strictly medicinal and scientific uses be at once forbidden, or, where this is not immediately practicable, that such importation be progressively curtailed each year and be wholly forbidden within a definite and brief period which shall be agreed upon.

3. That the exportation of opium for other than strictly medical or scientific purposes be at once forbidden or, where this is not immediately practicable, that such exportation be progressively curtailed each year and be wholly forbidden within a definite and brief period which shall be agreed upon.

4. That these undertakings with regard to the importation and exportation of opium be applied to the colonies and other dependencies of the agreeing Powers.

5. That the use of prepared opium by those of the Chinese race as well as by other persons subject to their respective territorial jurisdictions be forbidden, but that there be excepted from this prohibition persons who, because of age, or long habituation to the use of the drug, may, upon proper medical grounds, require special treatment.

Perhaps I may say in parentheses in this connection that some of the propositions which I have

submitted really belong to the province of the morning meetings, but I find the work of the two meetings is so interwoven that I have taken the liberty of submitting the propositions to you as a whole now, with the request that, at the proper place and at the proper time, you will give consideration to them in conjunction with the suggestions which will be laid before you by the other delegations.

In conclusion, it is to be said that, as was emphasized at the second meeting of this Conference, the Chinese Government attaches great value to the force of enlightened public opinion in rendering effective whatever attempts may be made to correct or lessen the evils from which the peoples of the world are suffering by reason of the improper use of opium, of its derivatives, and of other narcotic drugs. For this reason principally, the delegation for which I speak has earnestly desired that the proceedings of this Conference should be public in the fullest sense of the word.

GOVERNMENT CONTROL

At the twelfth meeting of the First Conference, commenting upon general statements which certain of the other delegations had made regarding the need of governmental control of the production and traffic in opium, Mr. Sze said:

He was in the very fortunate position of being able to say something in regard to a question behind which there were no private interests. He had followed with the greatest interest the different statements made by various delegations at the preceeding meeting and he was ready to believe that all the members of the Conference were actuated by motives to do something for the "cause," that was to say, for the early suppression of the opium evil. This was fully in accordance with the wishes of the Advisory Committee and with the resolution adopted by the Council and the Assembly, as a result of which the Conference had been summoned.

He thought that Sir Malcolm Delevingne had seen the problem in its true light. Sir Malcolm Delevingne had said that the most important point was to restrict the sales of opium and he agreed. No matter whether a complete or a semi-complete Government monopoly were established, the important point was to restrict the sales. It was essential that the amount of opium consumed every year should grow less and less and that the num-

ber of addicts should diminish. This could be achieved both by preventing those who were not addicts from becoming addicts and as to the addicts themselves, by reducing the amount of opium they used or by curing their habit by medical means.

With regard to the statements made by the French delegation, Mr. Sze desired the Conference to understand that he wished to ask a question so as to obtain information and that he did not desire to make any criticism. If he had properly understood the French delegate, he had said that it would be impossible to erect a building in every district for the purpose of supplying opium. That difficulty could easily, in the view of Mr. Sze, be overcome. Every country, for example, had a postal system, and even in countries not vastly populated post-offices existed. At any rate, this was the case in China. Even in large cities where one post-office was not sufficient there were a number of branch offices, but the Government did not in every case find itself under the necessity of building a house for such post-offices, especially in rural districts, so likewise, in the case of the retail sale of opium, it would not be necessary, in many cases, for the Government to provide special buildings.

He thought that the discussion had now reached a point where it would be possible to come to an agreement. He therefore begged leave to propose a formula which he thought would meet the views

of the French, British and other delegations. The formula was as follows:

"The importation of raw opium and the manufacture and sale of prepared opium shall be under effective governmental control. To the extent that is practically possible, this control shall be directly exercised by governmental officials rather than by police or administrative supervision over private persons or establishments, and that in any event the persons employed or licensed by the government shall receive fixed salaries and not commissions upon sales. In no case shall the farming system be sanctioned."

He felt, however, that no one would suppose that in proposing this formula he had been actuated by any private motives. He had been actuated entirely by humanitarian motives. He was not an authority on monopolies. China was not interested in them and therefore his formula might not be complete. If any delegation wished to add anything to it, it was entirely at liberty to do so. He had only intervened in this stage of the discussion because he had thought that sufficient progress had been made, and as an "outsider," representing a country which was not interested, he thought he might be able to make a suggestion which would be acceptable to all.

ASSURANCES OF THE CHINESE DELEGATION

At the eleventh meeting of the First Conference, Mr. Sze made the following formal statement as to what was, and would continue to be, the opium policy of the Chinese Government:

In the resolution of the Assembly of the League of Nations providing for the convening of this Conference, it is declared that one of the subjects to be discussed is "as to the measures which should be taken by the Government of the Republic of China to bring about the suppression of the illegal production and use of opium in China." It is here recognized that, at the present time, the production and use of opium are forbidden by the laws of China. From the policy represented by these laws, and which has now been the policy of China for nearly twenty years, the Chinese Government will not depart. Furthermore, that Government is prepared to give, and does give, to the Powers represented at this Conference, the absolute assurance that, to the extent of its administrative and executive power, it will continue this policy by applying rigidly the laws now in force, and by adopting still other measures, should developing conditions make their need manifest, in order that the complete suppression and use of prepared opium may be secured.

Having given this assurance, China hopes that the other Powers will co-operate with her by taking such action in their several territories as will make easier for China the successful carrying out of her policy as above declared.

At the same meeting Mr. Sze, replying to Mr. Campbell, said that:

Mr. Campbell had made two accusations against China and had, to a certain degree, called in question the good faith of the Chinese Government. In the first place, he had accused China of having violated Article 1 of the Hague Convention. That article was as folows:

"The Contracting Powers shall enact effective laws or regulations for the control of the production and distribution of raw opium, unless laws or regulations on the subject are already in existence."

No one would maintain that the Chinese Government had failed to enact such laws. The truth was that China had enacted them long before the Hague Conference had met.

Mr. Campbell had also accused China of failure in regard to the Anglo-Chinese Agreement of 1907. If Mr. Campbell's attitude was the official attitude of the Indian Government towards China on the opium question, was it possible to think that India would release China from the obligations of the Treaty of 1907? Had not China invited British officials to examine the different provinces and

then, when those British officials had stated that those provinces were free from opium, Great Britain had declared that China had fulfilled the terms of the Treaty and that it would no longer export Indian opium to China. China appreciated the help given her by the United States, Great Britain and India at that moment, and hoped that the sympathy and friendship of those Powers and the Powers represented here would continue to be extended to her.

Although he had found it necessary to reply to Mr. Campbell's criticisms, it should not be supposed that China would take part at an international conference in any discussion regarding a treaty made with any Power. The Treaty to which Mr. Campbell and himself had referred was one concerning only China and Great Britain. So far as China was concerned, he hoped that his reply would not be taken to mean that China would submit to the discussion at any international conference of any treaty which she had made or might make.

At the ninth meeting of the First Conference, Mr. Sze made the following statement as to the reasons why China's assurances should be given full consideration:

He was, as he always had been, anxious and eager to see the work of this Conference reach an early and successful conclusion, with results which

were compatible with the high aims of the League, under whose auspices this Conference was being held—with results acceptable to all, fulfilling the aim of all, results which would lead to the effective suppression of the use of opium at an early and definite date, in order to put an end to the harmful effects from which humanity was at present suffering. This being the object which Mr. Sze had in view, he did not propose to take up a great deal of time at the present meeting. Upon receipt last night of the Minutes of yesterday's meeting, he had lost no time in studying them in order that he might make an early reply to those questions that required immediate attention. He would dwell today, therefore, upon some aspects of the statement made by the British delegate on the previous day.

If his statement of last Wednesday was criticized upon the ground that it contained no constructive suggestions, he was constrained to say that he found still less in the way of constructive suggesttions in the statement to which he was referring.

With reference to the statement of the British delegate, he would deal with two or three of its aspects which required immediate attention and would leave the other points to be taken up on future appropriate occasions.

Sir Malcolm Delevingne had asked him the following question: "What grounds has the Conference for accepting the assurance given by the Chi-

nese delegate that as soon as a stable Government was established in China the suppression of the cultivation of opium and its use would be one of the first tasks of that Government?"

The same question had been asked at the Conference held at Shanghai in 1909 and again at the Hague Conference in 1912. The record of the Chinese Government from 1907 to 1917 was the best evidence that such apprehensions need not be entertained. Furthermore, one should look at the province of Shansi, with a population of over 11,000,000 and an area of over 81,000 square miles. What had been accomplished in such an important province under such unfavorable conditions could certainly be repeated in other provinces when the general conditions in China became better.

Moreover, when the Chinese Government found itself in a better position to enforce its will, it would be supported by a public opinion which was much stronger and more enlightened than that of the period from 1907 to 1917. As Mr. Sze had stated on Wednesday, the progress of popular education was rapid, as also was that of the sciences of medicine, hygiene, etc. Evidence of the widespread and growing opposition of public opinion to the cultivation of the poppy was abundant; some of that evidence was, he understood, in the possession of the Secretariat.

Sir Malcolm Delevingne had enquired as to the relationship between the question of extra-territoriality and the problem now before the Confer-

ence. The statement made by the Siamese delegate had amply shown that there was a connection, and Mr. Sze would say that in China, as was perhaps fairly well known, the enforcement of the laws against smuggling in the consular courts was not uniform, and in some of them the penalties imposed were by no means commensurate with the gravity of the offences committed; and in some cases there was even an absence of the necessary laws. To be fair, as Mr. Sze had always tried to be, he made no criticism against the British and American consular courts.

Sir Malcolm Delevingne had expressed the hope that Mr. Sze would suggest some way of solving the problem of the recrudescence of the cultivation of the poppy in China. The laws now in force in China were comprehensive and stringent; they had been tried and found to be adequate. The policy as expressed in those laws had not been altered and would never be altered. Whatever might be said against the militarists, no reproach could be justly directed against the policy of the Central Government. In the meantime, as there was good reason to expect, measures would be devised by the Conference to improve the general situation in the Far East and to regulate the use of prepared opium with a view to effective suppresson. This would react favorably upon China.

Mr. Sze noted that Sir Malcolm Delevingne had remarked that the recrudescence of the cultivation of the poppy in China was a dominant factor in

the Far Eastern situation. As Mr. Sze had said before, while the situation in China reacted on other territories in the Far East, there were other equally, if not more, important factors in the situation, and among these were the continued official sanction of the use of prepared opium in other Far Eastern territories and the increasing flood of illicit narcotic drugs which were poured into the Far East, and especially into China. The bearing of this last factor upon the opium situation in China had already been mentioned by Mr. Sze.

The need of money by the militarists had been one of the causes leading them to the acquiscence in or the encouragement of the cultivation of the poppy. A good part of this money had been used to buy arms introduced from abroad. As the situation improved, this need would decrease, and with it the temptation to cultivate the poppy.

A conference of the leaders of the different parties and the different sections in China was about to be convened in Peking with a view to discussing plans for an immediate unification. The delegation was telegraphing to the Government suggesting that the question of the suppression of the cultivation of the poppy and the use of opium should be one of the items on the agenda.

China was at present in need especially of the sympathy and good will of the other Powers. Mr. Sze wished to repeat, with all the earnestness in his power, what he had said at the sixth meeting: "China then"—that was to say, in 1907 and on-

wards—" had the especial sympathy and aid of Great Britain, India and the United States. She now hopes for the same sympathy and co-operation not only from these States but also from the other Powers."

A little over a century ago, the great American statesman, Benjamin Franklin, while on a mission for his country in Europe, wrote in one of his famous dispatches: "Injuries as well as benefits received in time of weakness and distress, national as well as personal, make deep and lasting impressions."

UNSATISFACTORY CHARACTER OF THE BRITISH PROPOSALS

At the fourteenth meeting of the First Conference, Sir Malcolm Delevingne, in behalf of the British Empire, submitted the following draft proposal for adoption by the Conference:

The Conference expresses the view that the method of licensing (or registration) and rationing is the most efficacious, if not the only, method—short of prohibition— by which the suppression of the use of prepared opium can be brought about, and recommends that the Governments should keep constantly in view the possibility of adopting those measures and should, in the meantime, take such preliminary measures as may be possible with a view to preparing the way for their introduction as soon as circumstances permit.

Mr. Sze, with regard to this proposal, said:

He was very disappointed by the statement made by Sir Malcolm Delevingne. The position of the British delegate had been gradually weakening. If the Conference referred to the Minutes of the Fifth Session of the Advisory Committee, it would find on page 64 that Sir Malcolm Delevingne had said:

"In his opinion, the present situation in China, far from being a reason for remaining inactive, called for strong action on the part of the Powers

with Far Eastern possessions, which should meet and devise measures for strengthening the control of the traffic in opium."

On page 55 of the Minutes of the same session he (Delevingne) had said:

"The easiest and most effective method of carrying out such an arrangement would be by means of a system of licensing and registration."

He (Delevingne) had also said:

"He would like to see a system established whereby the amount of opium to be purchased would be stipulated on the license. Complete control could be obtained by such a system and the maximum consumption could be definitely fixed, and progressively reduced, in accordance with the provisions of the Convention."

Sir Malcolm Delevingne had dwelt at the present meeting, as had other members of the Conference on other occasions, on the fact that no active measures could be taken owing to the situation in neighboring countries. Mr. Sze would therefore take the opportunity of answering a question which Mr. Campbell had put to him on a previous occasion. This question had related to the production of 15,000 tons of opium in China. Mr. Campbell had himself mentioned this figure of 15,000 tons during the first two or three days of the Conference. On subsequent occasions he had been vague in his statements and had not quoted this figure, but at the previous meeting, when Mr. Sze had asked

him whether literature for the Chinese in Burma could be sent in order to educate them and point out to them the evil of opium, Mr. Campbell had again quoted the figure of 15,000 tons. Mr. Sze would therefore be compelled to reply at some length.

The figure of 15,000 tons had been given in a pamphlet issued by the International Anti-Opium Association of Peking, the members of which were mostly English and Chinese. The *Bulletin* of that Association, however, in which the figure appeared stated that the figures were given "*without comment*," and that they had been obtained from missionaries, Chinese newspapers and other Chinese sources. The International Anti-Opium Association was an organization of responsible persons, and when it quoted figures without comment it should convey at once to the careful reader the impression that there was some doubt in the mind of the Association as to the accuracy of the figures.

With regard to the sources of the information, no fault was to be found with missionaries, but the Conference should know how the missionaries obtained their information. The cultivation of opium, which was illegal under Chinese law, chiefly took place in two provinces—Yunnan and Szechuan. These were a considerable distance away from the chief centers and it took a certain time for the opium to pass from those provinces to the places where it could be consumed, sold or exported. In every district through which the opium passed on

its way down from the interior of Szechuan, there were very good and conscientious missionaries. As soon as they heard that a certain amount of opium was passing through, they naturally made a note of it and reported it at once, as they considered it their duty to do, to the Anti-Opium Association in Peking, in order to help China to put down the opium evil. From the interior of Szechuan or Yunnan, however, to Shanghai was a considerable distance, and in every district through which the opium passed there was a rumor of its passage. Each missionary took note of the rumor and reported it. By the time the opium from Szechuan or Yunnan reached Shanghai many reports had been made, so that the figures given to Peking had multiplied a large number of times.

Another source mentioned was the Chinese newspapers and "other Chinese sources." Newspapers were, on the whole, satisfactory, but they differed in quality. Some were anxious to give the true facts and some of them printed news which was not entirely accurate. The Conference had had experience of this.

Newspapers were sometimes owned by parties, and in China, where Western methods of government were being adopted, parties were being formed which attacked each other with vigor. It was therefore necessary to read Chinese newspapers with the same care as American or European newspapers when they attacked the parties which did not own the newspaper.

There were people in China who desired to create prejudices and who set on foot stories and rumors. There were also Chinese in China, as was the case with foreigners elsewhere, who were financially interested in the opium traffic and who desired that traffic to continue. This they could only bring about by making up a large number of stories so that other Powers might innocently quote them as being true and thus have an excuse for not adopting any measures in their own countries. Sir Malcolm Delevingne, however, had stated two years previously that the cultivation of the poppy in China ought not to be taken by the other Powers as an excuse for doing nothing in their own territories.

Mr. Sze stated that no member of the Conference or anyone outside the Conference hall had brought conclusive evidence, or even reasonable proof that the cultivation of opium in China during 1923 had reached 15,000 tons.

Mr. Sze referred to the well-known story according to which a woman was reported to have vomited three black crows, with all the vivid details. Upon being traced back to its original source, it was found that the woman in question had, in fact, not vomited even one crow but only something that was described as being black as a crow. Mr. Sze added that, as Abraham Lincoln had said: "You can fool some people some of the time, some people all the time, but you cannot fool all people all the time." Some people might be fooled by the statement regarding the 15,000 tons some of the time, and some

of the people all the time, but this figure could not fool all people all the time.

He next took up the question of Chinese smuggling, which was one of the points discussed by the Conference and was closely concerned with the reason why rationing and registration could not be adopted by the Powers. When Mr. Sze had been at the University, he had studied the science of statistics. It was a criticism by some people that statistics could be made to prove anything. This was not true, or rather it was only true when the statistics were incomplete.

The British delegation had submitted a large number of statistics regarding Hong-Kong. Sir Malcolm Delevingne had submitted figures of the number of seizures which had been made, during the various years, on ships coming from China and from elsewhere. This information was interesting, but not conclusive. The figures were not sufficient to prove the case. The number of seizures was an important factor, but was not everything. Other important factors were the amount seized, the kind of opium seized, whether it was Chinese, Indian, Persian or Turkish, by whom it was smuggled, whether by Chinese or foreigners, whence it had come and to whom it was consigned. It was also important to know what was being done with the contraband seized and what punishments were given to smugglers when caught. These were all essential factors which it was necessary to know.

He reminded the Conference of what Sir John Jordan had said in the Advisory Committee regarding smuggling carried on by persons other than Chinese. This class of smuggling was very considerable. If Mr. Sze remembered rightly, Sir John Jordan had quoted a case of smuggling by an Englishman which had resulted in the largest seizure

He would also like to comment on the estimates which had been submitted to the Conference. In the statement made regarding the amount of opium smuggled from China into Hong-Kong, Sir Malcolm Delevingne had said that this opium represented only one-tenth of the illicit opium smuggled into Hong-Kong. In the next paragraph of his statement Sir Malcolm Delevingne had quoted an authority in Hong-Kong which stated that the amount of illicit opium seized was about one-half of the total amount used; the difference in these two estimates was therefore about 500 per cent.

Estimates were only estimates and they might or might not be accurate. They should therefore be accepted with considerable care by the Conference, without questioning the good faith of the person giving them but because of the general principle that the value of estimates was doubtful.

Mr. Campbell had asked how it was possible to put an end to smuggling. This question had been dealt with by the Advisory Committee. It was a matter which required co-operation. Mr. Sze referred to a speech made by Sir John Jordan during

the first session of the Advisory Committee (Minutes of the First Session, page 13). Sir John Jordan had said that, as long as opium was exported from India to Singapore, Macao and numerous other places in communication with China, China could not adequately cope with the opium question.

Sir John Jordan had also said that opium, wherever grown, would always reach the consumer. Further, he had said that he was in a position to prove that a very great quantity of opium entered China every year and that he was convinced that this would very largely cease to be the case were the Government of India to reduce the production and export of opium. Without, therefore, wishing to minimize the difficulty of smuggling, Mr. Sze wished to make it clear that it was not Chinese opium alone which complicated the problem. Sir John Jordan had called attention to the fact that Indian opium also entered China.

The Japanese delegate had explained how opium smuggling could be stopped. It was an important fact that an Asiatic Power had proved that this question could be delt with and dealt with successfully and that the fears entertained by certain Powers were groundless. The British delegate had said at a previous meeting, with regard to the situation in the British Colonies as regards opium, that the Chinese furnished both the supply and the demand. In regard to this subject, Mr. Sze quoted six conclusions of the official report of the Malaya

Government which had been distributed to the Conference (page A. 12). That report stated:

"The Opium Commission of 1907-8 reported that the general trend of the evidence tendered to them indicated that the majority of smokers acquired the habit locally."

The same report said further on:

"(*a*) At our suggestion a discreet examination of immigrants on certain ships from China was made. The result of the inquiries shows that, of 1,086 immigrants who had never been in British Malaya before, 145, or 13.3 per cent, admitted that they were opium-smokers.

"(*b*) Our own Smoking-Room Sub-Committee reported that 80 per cent of the 85 smokers questioned by them stated that they acquired the habit locally.

"(*c*) In connection with the censuses of opium-smokers in hospitals, 1,170 smokers were asked where they learnt to smoke opium and 829, or 70.9 per cent, stated that they acquired the habit locally.

"(*d*) Of the 136 opium-smokers enumerated in decrepit wards, 83, or 61 per cent, claimed to have commenced the habit in Malaya.

"(*e*) Of the 584 Chinese inmates of leper asylums who smoke opium, 341, or 58 per cent, stated that they commenced the habit during residence in Malaya.

"(*f*) Our Sub-Committee which made inquiries as to opium smoking amongst jinricksha pullers found that 65 per cent of the smokers acquired the habit locally."

He need not make any comment on the official report of the Malaya Government.

It had been said that in a prosperous year there was a larger consumption of opium among the Chinese. He appealed to the members of the Conference to urge their Governments not to expose the Chinese to the temptation of spending their money on opium smoking.

Without wishing unduly to take up the time of the Conference, Mr. Sze desired to state, with regard to Mr. Campbell's assertion to the effect that Mr. Chao-Hsin Chu had not denied that the production of opium in China was 15,000 tons, that it was obvoius that such a statement did not require any serious notice because anyone who examined the matter carefully would at once be convinced that it was only hearsay.

The Chinese delegation was silent in regard to some of these allegations because it thought it was beneath its dignity to join issue on statements which anyone could see at a glance were not true. He was sorry that he had found it necessary to make the remarks which he had just made, but he had promised Mr. Campbell at a preceding meeting that he would answer his allegations. He had not made the quotations from the statements of other delegations

in a spirit of criticism but merely in the sincere hope that something could be done to improve the situation in the Far East

Mr. Sze once more appealed to Sir Malcolm Delevingne, the author of the proposals of May, 1923, and asked him if he would not reconsider the text which he had just proposed and submit a new proposal which could be included in the Agreement.

The Chinese Government, people and, indeed, the whole world looked towards Sir Malcolm Delevingne, the author of the proposals which had been adopted by the Council and the Assembly of the League and which were the subject of the discussions of the Conference. In the name of humanity, Mr. Sze earnestly requested Sir Malcolm Delevingne to do something to alleviate the sufferings supported by humanity for so long a time.

OPIUM IN MACAO

At the seventeenth meeting of the First Conference, Mr. Sze made the following observations regarding the consumption of opium in Macao and its possible restriction:

He made an earnest appeal to the Portugese delegation not to press the point. He agreed with Sir Malcolm Delevingne. While appreciating the difficulties which each administration would encounter when it came to change the system in force, he thought that, in view of the fact that the new contract in Macao had been given to the farmers in June, 1924, and would last for three years, at the end of that period, when the contract expired, a new system ought to be introduced.

It was well known that opium was consumed in Macao and that the population there was mostly Chinese. The special conditions referred to by the Portuguese delegate in regard to the floating population of Macao need not be taken into consideration, in view of what had been stated in a letter which Mr. Sze had received from the representative of the Chinese National Anti-Opium Association. That Association stated that "they would further assure the members of the Conference that they would do their utmost to co-operate with the colonial Governments by undertaking to press in our own country for legislation with a view to prohibiting addicted smokers from leaving the country

to settle in those colonies, to refuse the entry into China of addicted smokers returning from those colonies, and to restrict the emigration of Chinese into colonies where the registration and rationing of opium smokers have not been adopted." If the Chinese National Anti-Opium Association agitated for legislation on these lines, the Chinese Parliament would, he thought, certainly enact measures by which the various colonies would be relieved of the fear that the Chinese would come to them and that they would consequently have to find opium for the Chinese smokers.

He further appealed most earnestly to the Portuguese delegation not to press for the adoption of the temporary provision proposed.

FISCAL POLICY

At the seventeenth meeting of the First Conference, Mr. Sze made the following proposal:

That fiscal considerations will not be allowed to influence in a prejudicial manner the character of the measures to be taken for the progressive and ultimately complete supression of the legal use of prepared opium; and that the incidental public revenues derived from the legalized importation of raw opium and the manufacture, sale and consumption of prepared opium, as well as from fines and confiscations imposed and collected as a result of legal convictions, of violations of the laws regulating the manufacture and use of raw and prepared opium and the importation of raw opium, be wholly devoted to measures for the prevention of the acquiring of the vice of smoking opium, for the humanitarian care and treatment of addicts, for the general social and economic betterment of the classes of the people who are especially addicted to the use of prepared opium, and for meeting the administrative expenses of enforcing the laws against the illegal importation of raw opium and the manufacture, sale and consumption of prepared opium.

Mr. Sze said that the meaning of his proposal was too clear to need any explanation. He thought that it would prove acceptable to the delegations because, as the Conference had already been in-

formed by more than one of its members, revenues derived from the sale of raw opium were now used to a great extent for the welfare of people indulging in the opium habit.

Replying to technical objections made by certain of the other delegations to the foregoing proposal, Mr. Sze said:

He could not conceal the great disappointment with which he had followed the discussion. The question was, in his opinion, an entirely humanitarian one and he thought that all countries represented on the Conference desired to help opium addicts. Sir Malcolm Delevingne, he thought, had misunderstood his proposal. He had not asked that any of the revenue derived from opium should be used for education. He desired merely that it should be used for the benefit of the opium addicts.

In reply to the point raised by Mr. Bourgois, to the effect that it was impossible to earmark revenue for a special purpose, he thought that the difficulty would be met by making a conservative estimate of the amount of revenue to be derived from opium and then by using that amount in the budget for expenditure on the purpose mentioned in his resolution.

He was grateful for the information given by the Japanese delegate as to what was being done in Formosa. It was the duty of a Government deriv-

ing revenue from the sale of opium to do something for that part of the population from whom such a large revenue was derived.

Mr. Sze appealed once more to the members of the Conference. It had been said, and it was a proved fact, that the opium sold in the various colonies went mostly to Chinese. While he had no intention of interfering in the internal administration of these various colonies, he appealed to their Governments on humanitarian grounds to use the revenue derived from opium or the most part, if not entirely, for the improvement of that class of the population which smoked opium.

ILLICIT TRAFFIC

At the seventh meeting of the First Conference, Mr. Sze, with reference to the problem of suppressing illicit trade in and consumption of prepared opium said:

He wished to make a few brief general remarks in regard to the different statements. The President asked whether other delegations who had territories in the Far East wished to make any remarks, and he (Mr. Sze) had been awaiting them. As none were forthcoming, he wished to make a few general remarks.

He had followed with considerable interest the statements made by the different delegations. They were certainly very instructive, although he was not prepared to concur in all the views expressed.

He noted that, in the statements made by the Dutch delegate, the Portuguese delegate, the delegate of the British Empire and also the delegates who had spoken at the present meeting, mention was made of the seriousness of the illicit traffic. In this connection he thought it would perhaps be of use to the Conference to have, if it were available, information as to the nationality of the smugglers, the form and amount of the drug smuggled and the destination and origin of the smuggled consignments.

He noted that the illicit traffic was not only giving concern to the Conference but also that, on

account of it, members spoke of the impracticability of the immediate suppression of the use of prepared opium, because they feared that the suppression would result in the replacing of legitimate opium by smuggled opium. This apprehension was not, he thought, so great as members were inclined to think. If no prepared opium was to be allowed to be smoked, it would be much easier to detect the existence of opium, because opium could not be smoked without its being easily detected. The smell from the smoking was so strong that it could be detected at some distance. Further, opium-smokers could always be distinguished from non-smokers by their complexion, the stain on their hands and, in some cases, even by their voice.

With reference to the statement made by the Portuguese delegate, might he ask what Macao had done towards the checking of illicit traffic in opium? Did the authorities keep track of opium which was re-exported from Macao so as to ensure its reaching its true destination? He noted that the Portuguese delegate had also dwelt upon the subject from the ecomonic point of view. He could well understand that, for those territories the revenue of which depended largely, if not entirely, on smoking and gambling, it would be difficult if one or both were prohibited immediately. If it were on account of the fear of the loss of revenue that the suppression of opium smoking had been delayed, he suggested, in view of the recognized harmful effects of

the smoking of opium, that Portugal might apply to the League of Nations for a loan to tide her over the transition period.

He heartily endorsed the suggestion made by the British delegate that the re-export of opium from any territory should be stopped, for reasons which were so well known to the members of this Conference and to those who had studied the subject that it would be unnecessary to state them.

The British delegate had called attention to what he called the "gaps" in the statistics supplied to the Conference by the Secretariat. It would be most useful for the gaps to be filled wherever possible.

He would like to make a request that the Minutes of this Conference should be published verbatim and not in summary form.

As regarded the three points mentioned by the British delegate, he agreed that they were very important matters and that the Conference ought to look into them and compare notes upon them. Everyone would then work together with the object of finding a solution which would be acceptable to all, and at the same time bring about an effective suppression of prepared opium within a definite period of time.

With reference to the estimate placed by Hong-Kong on the proportion of illicit and licit prepared opium consumed there and also the estimate given by Malaya on the same subject, to what year did

those figures refer and what method had been employed in order to arrive at the estimate? Further, had those two territories any estimate as to the smuggling of opium out of their borders? If so, he would like to know what the amount was and by what process it was determined.

The Siamese statement was very interesting. He sympathized with the Siamese Government with regard to the difficulties resulting from the existence of a system of extra-territoriality in the carrying out of the work for the suppression of the smoking of opium. In view of the difficulties with which it had to contend, the results achieved were remarkable.

He wished to congratulate the Japanese delegate on his dignified and precise statement. He had clearly demonstrated what could be done if a real effort were made. The statement of the Japanese delegate, that "in large measure the question in China reacts on the problems in other countries and vice versa," corroborated the position which he had always maintained. While the recrudescence of the cultivation of the poppy in China reacted on other territories in Asia, the conditions in those territories also reacted on China. The Japanese delegate had informed the Conference, with reference to Formosa, that "there had been only a few infringements of the regulations, contrary to our expectations." This statement ought to dispel the apprehensions of others who hesitated to undertake measures for the suppression of opium. The fact

that Japan could do it successfully in Formosa, which was right at the gate of the mainland of China, was sufficient evidence that this problem of the effective suppression of opium was within the realm of practicability. It appeared that the fears of others as to what might happen were groundless. The economic gain of Formosa ought to allay the fears of those who thought that the suppression of opium might entail a loss of revenue. He joined with the Japanese delegate in urging the European Powers to adopt, in their territories in Asia, some form of prohibition leading to the eventual suppression of prepared opium within a definite period of time. The Japanese delegate had said "if they (the Powers) would only let the Chinese people see their good example and have the benefit of their opinion in the solution of the Chinese opium problem, then it would indeed help towards hastening the solution of the deep-rooted evils of China."

If Mr. Sze had understood the French delegate correctly, Indo-China admitted that she could not efficiently police her own borders even to the extent of preventing the formation and operation of armed bands of smugglers, who could terrify villages, seize women, etc. Here was a confession of Governmental incompetence even when there were not, as there were in China, disturbed political conditions. It would appear that the entry of Chinese opium into Indo-China was illegal under both the Indo-Chinese and the Chinese laws. It would be interesting to know whether the transit of Chinese opium

through Indo-China had to any extent received the approval of the authorities of Indo-China.

Attention had been called to the smuggling of Chinese opium into British India. The Chinese delegation would therefore ask whether the Indian Government had any figures as to the amount of opium produced in the native States of India, and especially in the Shan States, and whether the Government had any information upon which it felt it could rely as to the possibility of the sending of such opium produced in these native States either directly to China or through Afghanistan.

Later on, during the same meeting, Mr. Sze said that he did not for various reasons propose to reply at length to the observations of the Portuguese, French and Indian delegates with reference to the few general remarks that he had made. First, he desired to see the work of the Conference progress and an agreement reached which would be acceptable to all, and which would provide for the eventual suppression of opium for smoking within a definite period of time. He would deal later with some of the points raised.

With reference to the remarks made by the Portuguese delegate, Mr. Sze quite agreed with him and was also content to leave the judgment to history. He thought that history knew it. A great deal had been written on the subject, and he did not propose to argue with the Portuguese delegate any further as to what had happened. A great deal

had already been discussed in the Advisory Committee, and he had also heard (but not officially, because China was not represented there) that it had been discussed at the Preparatory Committee.

With regard to the remarks of Mr. Campbell, he did not think it was fair for Mr. Campbell to assume that, because he had asked a question for information, it necessarily meant an attack. If Mr. Campbell drew that conclusion, Mr. Sze desired to remind him that other delegations on previous occasions had asked for information. If such a reproach was made, he must say that he had not asked for information for purposes of attack. Information was necessary in order that the Conference might have certain bases on which to reach an enlightened conclusion. Without information, how could this be done? The Conference would be building on an insufficient foundation. He would not argue on this question further, because the facts were too well known. He wished to thank Mr. Campbell for the publications he had sent him and to assure him that he would study them very carefully.

With regard to the question of the Chinese alleged production of 15,000 tons, he had purposely avoided referring to the debate which had taken place the day before between Mr. Chu and Mr. Campbell. He did not desire to raise any disagreeable matters, and in order to avoid doing so he would not refer further to this question at the moment, though he would furnish an explanation later.

With reference to the remarks of the French delegate, Mr. Sze had merely wanted to know the facts. He thanked the French delegate for having been good enough to read to the Conference the note which the French Government had seen fit to send to the British Charge d'Affaires. From the fact that correspondence had been exchanged between the British and French Governments, it followed that the matter was of sufficient importance to merit attention. He was glad to know that the French Government did not intend to permit in future illicit opium from Yunnan to have free passage through Indo-China. In China it was desired to stop the opium traffic, but great difficulties had been encountered. He did not hide that fact. China wanted others to help to stop it, and not to make it easier for those citizens in China who were violating the laws. Not only did China not wish to countenance it, but she did not wish other Powers to facilitate it.

While he agreed with the Japanese delegate that the situation in China would react on the territories of the European Powers in Asia, it must not be forgotten that the situation in the colonies of the European Powers also reacted on the situation in China.

With reference to the statements contained in the Final Act of the First Conference (originally intended to be contained in a Pro-

tocol), Mr. Sze, in behalf of the Chinese delegation, filed the following formal statement:

The Chinese delegation greatly regrets that it is unable to subscribe to the Protocol annexed to the Draft Agreement [C. O. P. 45 (1)]. It asks, therefore, that the sentence reading: "The Conference further adopted the following Resolution," be changed so as to read: "The Conference, with the exception of the Chinese delegation, further adopted the following Resolution."

Following the body of the Protocol, and preceding the words "In witness whereof, etc.", the Chinese delegation desires that the following statement be inserted:

"The Chinese delegation greatly regrets that it is unable to join in the foregoing Protocol. The Conference has not been furnished, in the opinion of the Chinese delegation, with evidence which conclusively demonstrates that, in some of the territories of the Powers in the Far East, the amount of contraband trade equals and even surpasses in extent the legitimate trade, and that the application of the system of licensing (or registration) and rationing is thereby rendered useless and in some cases dangerous. The Chinese delegation therefore regrets its inability to participate in a statement that such is a determined fact.

"The Chinese delegation regrets also its inability to accept the conclusion contained in the last paragraph of the Protocol, namely, that the Con-

ference should formally approve the proposition that those of the Contracting Powers which have not yet applied this system of licensing (or registration) and rationing shall be under no obligation to do so within a definite period of time, but that each shall undertake merely to select the moment when circumstances will allow of the adoption of the system and to take, in the meantime, such preparatory measures as they may deem expedient."

WITHDRAWAL OF THE CHINESE DELEGATION FROM THE FIRST CONFERENCE

At the twenty-third meeting of the First Conference (which the Chinese delegation did not attend) there was presented and read the following letter and accompanying memorandum:

THE CHINESE DELEGATION TO THE FIRST OPIUM CONFERENCE

GENEVA, February 10th, 1925.

HIS EXCELLENCY MONSIEUR G. VAN WETTUM,
President of the First Opium Conference:

My dear Mr. President—

I have the honor to inform you that, for reasons given in the memorandum herein enclosed, the Chinese delegation is convinced that its further participation in the First Opium Conference will serve no useful purpose. May I ask that this memorandum be communicated to the Conference?

It is with profound regret that my delegation has felt itself constrained to take this position, but in view of the failure of the Conference to arrive at any satisfactory agreement with regard to the measures to be taken for the suppression of the use of prepared opium, it has felt that no other course is open to it.

Permit me to avail myself of this opportunity, on behalf of my delegation, to assure you and the members of the Conference and the members of the Secretariat of the League of Nations of our appreciation of, and thanks for, the courtesies shown to us.

I remain, my dear Mr. President,

Yours very sincerely,

(Signed) SAO-KE ALFRED SZE.

MEMORANDUM

Memorandum submitted by the Chinese delegation mentioned in their letter of February 10, 1925, to the President of the First Conference:

By the Convention signed at the Hague in 1912, the High Contracting Parties obligated themselves (Article 6) to "take measures for the gradual and effective suppression of the manufacture of, internal trade in, and use of prepared opium," that is, of opium used for smoking. This obligation was, however, qualified by the provision that those Powers which were not then ready immediately to prohibit the export of prepared opium, should do so as soon as possible, and that, until this prohibition is made absolute, the export should be restricted and controlled in certain specified ways.

It was the expectation of the world, and certainly that of the Chinese people, that the Powers signatory to the Hague Convention which continued to legalize the use of opium would take prompt and decisive steps to introduce systems of control which would, by their operation, necessarily bring the temporarily legalized smoking of opium to an end within a few years, or at the termination of a specified period. In fact, however, this was not the case, and because this was not the result, this First Opium Conference was convened. In other words,

the purpose of this Conference was that the Powers participating in it should come to some new agreement as to the action to be taken by them all in order to bring about that effective suppression of the temporarily legalized use of prepared opium to which the Powers had pledged themselves in the Hague Convention.

In the Resolution 5 of the Fourth Assembly of the League of Nations which provided for the convening of this Conference, it was declared that its purpose was to be "the conclusion of an agreement as to the measures for giving effective application in the Far Eastern territories to Part II of the (Hague) Convention and as to a reduction of the amount of raw opium to be imported for the purpose of smoking in those territories where it is temporarily continued."

No such effective action is made obligatory upon the Powers by the draft Agreement that has resulted from the labors of the Conference. Some few, but not important, unqualified obligations have been assumed by the Powers, as, for example, that the sale of opium to minors shall be prohibited; that minors shall not be allowed to enter smoking divans; that "dross" may be sold only to the State monopoly, where one exists; and that the Powers shall exchange information and views with one another regarding the suppression of illicit traffic and the number of smokers.

All of the other undertakings of the Agreement, except the one providing for a review of the situa-

tion before the end of the year 1929, and Article VI later referred to, are so qualified as to render them in no sense imperative. The obligation to make the manufacture of prepared opium a Government monopoly is qualified by the phrase "as soon as circumstances permit"; the obligation to pay retail sellers of opium fixed salaries and without commission on sales is to be applied "experimentally in those districts where an effective supervision can be exercised by the administrative authorities," each Power having, of course, the right to determine for itself when this condition exists. Retail shops for the sale of opium and divans for the smoking of opium are to be limited in number "as much as possible,"—there is not even an obligation not to increase the number of retail shops and smoking dens now existing. Educational and other efforts to discourage the use of prepared opium are to be exerted by only those Governments which consider such measures desirable under the conditions existing in their several territories. With regard to legislative measures for rendering punishable illegitimate transactions which are carried out in another country by persons residing within their own territories, the Contracting Parties obligate themselves to do nothing more than examine the possibility of such legislation in a most favorable spirit.

The foregoing undertakings furnish the substance of the draft Agreement that has been agreed upon with the exception of Article VI which prohibits

the exportation of raw or prepared opium from the territories in which opium is imported for purposes of smoking, the transit through and trans-shipment of prepared opium in such territories, and regulates the transit through and trans-shipment of raw opium in those same territories.

The Chinese delegation is aware of the practical difficulties that have confronted the Powers concerned in taking effective measures for the suppression of the use of prepared opium, but it is convinced that these difficulties are by no means insurmountable. Therefore, the Chinese delegation is of the opinion that the time has come for these Powers to declare, in definite terms, either that legalized traffic in prepared opium within their several territories or possessions will be brought to an end within a fixed and reasonable period of time, or that they will at once establish and operate, to the extent of their administrative and executive power, systems of regulation and control which will necessarily bring about a yearly and progressive diminution in the amount of prepared opium legally used, and of the number of persons permitted by law to purchase and consume this opium—a diminution that will proceed at a rate that will bring to an end, within a reasonably brief period of time, this pernicious traffic.

The Chinese delegation has noted the repeated declarations of several of the representatives of the Governments concerned that their opium policies have not been, and will not be influenced by finan-

cial considerations. The delegation is, however, constrained to say that, however this may be, the fact remains that these Governments do obtain large public revenues from the traffic, and thus furnish occasion for statements like that of Sir John Jordan, when in the Opium Advisory Committee at one of the meetings of its Fifth Session, he said that, so long as Colonies are deriving fifty per cent of their whole revenue from the opium traffic, it is absurd to say that financial considerations do not play a part.

In addition, there is also the fact, stressed by certain of the Colonial officials, that the circumstance should not be ignored that an adequate supply of Chinese laborers in their countries is of great economic importance, and, therefore, that the Governments concerned should hesitate to impose restrictions upon the use of prepared opium which may operate to interfere with this labor supply. Thus, in the Memorandum published by the Court of Directors of the British North Borneo Company in October, 1923, embodying their views upon the measures suggested by the League of Nations Advisory Committee on Traffic in Opium, it is said with reference to the possible introduction of a system of registration and licensing (p. 4):

"A free inflow of Chinese laborers and settlers is vital to the progress and development of North Borneo, and the Government would hesitate to introduce measures which, in the present state of Chinese feeling, must necessarily restrict immigra-

tion and have a disturbing effect on the resident Chinese population."

In the Memorandum supplied by the Netherlands Government (C. O. P. 19 O. C. 124), it is said with reference to the license system:

"In some districts, it was necessary to deviate from the principle that, after the enforcement of the system, no licenses should be issued. Vast regions, namely, are largely dependent for their economic development on the supply of labor from elsewhere, frequently non-native workers (that is, Chinese) and should the use of opium be wholly prohibited, it would be impossible, or at least extremely difficult, to have laborers, so that the public welfare would suffer materially from such a measure." That the Chinese laborers would suffer in the absence of such a control is not mentioned.

Again, in the report of the British Malaya Opium Committee, which has recently been published, there is this declaration (p. A 54):

"We cannot avoid reflecting upon possible disturbances of the free influx of Chinese labor which might result from restrictions of this nature, unless this system were applied universally where the Chinese can earn a livelihood. Any check on a free flow of labor from China would have disastrous effects on the economic position of British Malaya, and these territories would be faced with a steadily dwindling revenue and steadily increasing expenditure, owing to costly preventive services and establishments required to make the system effective."

And, as to the revenue obtained in British India, there is the following conclusion stated in the report of the Indian Retrenchment Committee (The Inchcape Report), issued in 1923 (p. 226):

"Having reviewed the expenditure under the opium head, we recommend that the possibilities of reducing the price paid to cultivators of opium be carefully watched with a view to reduction. We are informed that there will be a reduction of about Rs. 20 Lakhs in expenditure in 1923-24, and, in view of the importance of safeguarding this important source of revenue, we recommend no further reduction."

The statements which have been quoted seem to indicate that considerations of a materialistic, even if not of a directly public financial, character, play a part in the formation of the policies of those Governments which continue to legalize the use of prepared opium in their territories or possessions.

It was suggested by the Chinese delegations in this Conference that the public revenue derived from the opium traffic be applied to the prevention and cure of opium addiction, to the economic and moral betterment of the classes from which the consumers of opium are drawn, and to defraying the expenses of more drastic police and administrative measures for preventing that illicit traffic in opium, which, it is claimed, now interferes with the efficient operation of measures for bringing about the suppression of the use of prepared opium.

But this suggestion (with the exception of Japan in Formosa), the Powers have declined to adopt.

As to the Protocol that is annexed to the draft Agreement, the Chinese delegation does not deem it necessary to repeat what it said in the Conference at the time its adoption was discussed. It would, however, respectfully refer to the statement then made.

As to the draft of the Protocol contained in the proposals of the British delegation presented to the Joint Committee of Sixteen, and which, it is proposed, should be annexed to the Agreement to be adopted by this Conference, the Chinese delegation would say that it is unable to subscribe to the unqualified assertion contained in the Preamble that "the effective prohibition of the use of prepared opium in their Far Eastern territories is dependent on effective measures being taken by the producing countries to restrict the production of opium and prevent its illicit export." As the Chinese delegation has already said, it recognizes that the existence of contraband trade in opium constitutes an impediment to the effective operation of measures for the total suppression of the legalized use of prepared opium, but it does not admit that this impediment is such as to prevent and excuse the Powers concerned from taking immediate steps to enforce measures that will, if allowed free play, lead, within a definite or reasonably brief period of time, to the total prohibition of the legalized smoking of opium. With such measures in exist-

ence, even though their operation be somewhat retarded by illicit trade, the Powers will be in a position to increase their efficiency in exact proportion as the retarding influences, of which contraband is but one, are lessened or wholly removed.

The Chinese delegation is further unable to give its approval to the substance of the declarations or undertakings contained in the proposed Protocol for the reason that, instead of providing for the taking of immediate steps leading to the total suppression within a definite or reasonably brief period of time of the legalized use of prepared opium, they postpone the initiation of such measures to an indefinite and contingent date.

In view of the foregoing, the Chinese delegation is constrained to say that it deems that no useful purpose will be served by its further participation in the work of the Conference. The Chinese delegation is, however, convinced that in order successfully to cope with the problem of opium in all its phases, international co-operation is required. Whenever the Powers signatory to the Hague Convention of 1912 are prepared to conclude "an Agreement as to the measures for giving effective application in the Far Eastern territories to Part II of the (Hague) Convention and as to a reduction of the amount of raw opium to be imported for the purpose of smoking in those territories where it is temporarily continued," they will find China not only ready but eager to co-operate to the full extent of her power. In the meantime China will continue

its policy of absolutely prohibiting the production of opium and its use for other than medicinal and scientific purposes. The present conditions in China which, unfortunately, make it impossible for the Government of China to secure an effective enforcement of this policy, are temporary in character. The Government of China gives the assurance that it will not depart from its policy with regard to opium, and that it will, at all times, exert all the executive and administrative power possessed by it to enforce that policy. This the Government of China will continue to do, independently, and without regard to the action of other Powers. It is the hope of the Government and the people of China that, reciprocally with their independent effort to suppress the production and control the use of opium within the borders of China, the other Powers will upon their part make every effort to prevent illegal traffic in opium and narcotic drugs, and progressively to suppress the legalized use of prepared opium.

ANNEXES TO PART I

Annex I

The Secretary of the First and Second Opium Conferences has the honor to circulate for the information of the delegates to the Conferences, the following petition submitted by the National Anti-Opium Association of China (Circulated November 14, 1924):

1. Whereas the welfare of the whole human race is threatened by the rapid increase in the use of opium and allied narcotic drugs for other than scientific or medicinal purposes; and

2. Whereas in China there is a manifest recrudescence of this evil in recent years, due to the prevalence of civil strife entailing the regrettable neglect of the law for the suppression of opium and in part to the increased importation of narcotics from other lands; and

3. Whereas Chinese emigrants and traders living in the Straits Settlements, East Indies and other territories under the jurisdiction of other powers have to a considerable extent been victims of opium and allied narcotics; and

4. Whereas we believe co-operation by all nations in controlling production, manufacture and sale of opium and its allied narcotics is the most effective way to deal with this menace,

WE, who as a people have been the direct sufferers because of this evil, while affirming our determination, as representing the will of the Chinese nation, to eradicate the production and consumption of opium in China in the immediate future and committing ourselves to overcome all obstructions to this end, hereby respectfully petition your Conferences to secure an agreement among all nations to limit the production of opium and its derivatives and of cocaine strictly to the amount required by scientific and medicinal purposes, thereby greatly helping not only the Chinese but also the people of other lands in their struggle to overthrow this evil, and so using the unique opportunity to fulfil the mission entrusted to you to render a service to the whole human family.

Respectfully submitted,

(Signed) GEORGE C. HSU,
President, National Anti-Opium Association.

K. T. Chung,
Secretary, National Anti-Opium Association.

Shanghai, China, October 16, 1924.

Annex II

Letter from M. T. Z. Koo, representative of the National Anti-Opium Association of China, to His Excellency M. S. K. Alfred Sze, and circulated to the delegations through the Secretariat.

4, Chemin du Square, Geneva.

November 15, 1924.

H. E. S. K. Alfred Sze,
Chinese Delegation to the Opium
Conference, Geneva.

My dear Dr. Sze:

I had hoped to have an opportunity to address the First Opium Conference in order to present to the members of that body the hopes of the National Anti-Opium Association of China as to the agreements that might result from the deliberations of the Conference. Because of the limited time that remains at the disposal of the Conference I have hesitated to ask of it that it should spare me the time to address it in person, but I feel that I am obligated, as the authorized representative of a great body of Chinese citizens, to express to you in concise form the eager hope of those for whom I speak that, from the work of the Conference there

shall result agreements by the Powers which will bring to an early and complete end the smoking of opium within their several territories and possessions. You do not need to be told, as I know the other members of the Conference do not need to be told, that the people of China view with profound concern the fact that their fellow-citizens living under other jurisdictions are permitted by law to continue or even to contract the habit of smoking opium, and that their concern is increased when they see that so slight an advance has been made towards the effective suppression of the manufacture of, internal trade in, and use of prepared opium as provided for in Article 6 of the Hague Convention to which all the Powers represented in the present Conference are parties signatory. And the fact, too, that those Governments which still sanction by their laws the smoking of opium, derive from the importation of raw opium, and the manufacture and sale of prepared opium such considerable public revenues creates in their minds the fear lest, consciously or unconsciously, those Governments be deterred by fiscal considerations from taking as energetic measures, and enforcing them with as much administrative vigor, as they otherwise might do.

It is for these reasons that I ask of you that you will read or submit this letter to the Conference. Especially are many members of the National Anti-Opium Association, for which I speak, anxious that a plan shall be agreed upon by the Conference

which will fix a definite date at which the legalized smoking of opium will be brought to an end, or at least a plan which will so operate as automatically to decrease, year by year, the legalized smoking of opium, and wholly to terminate it within a brief period.

The National Anti-Opium Association of China views with especial approval, as calculated to achieve the end it desires, the proposition that there shall be prepared in each territory in which the smoking of opium is permitted by law, a register of confirmed smokers; that only those persons shall be registered who, as shown by a careful medical examination, are so addicted to the vice that they should not be wholly deprived of the opportunity to smoke; that, upon the basis of this examination, definite amounts or rations of opium which those registered shall be entitled to consume shall be fixed by law and that, after this register shall have been completed, no new names shall be added, with the result that, as the years go by, the number of registered or licensed smokers will continually decrease until none are left.

Speaking for the members of the National Anti-Opium Association which I have the honor to represent, I can assure the members of the Conference that they will spare no effort within their power and grudge no sacrifice that may be necessary, to bring to an end, in co-operation with the Chinese Government, the illegal production and use of pre-

pared opium in so far as it now exists in China, and thus, in this respect, to bring our country back to the situation which it occupied in 1917. They would further assure the members of the Conference that they would do their utmost to co-operate with the Colonial Governments by undertaking to press in our own country for legislation with a view to prohibit addicted smokers from leaving the country to settle in these colonies, to refuse the entry into China of addicted smokers returning from these colonies and to restrict the emigration of Chinese into colonies where the registration and rationing of opium smokers have not yet been adopted. I am,

Yours faithfully,

(Signed) T. Z. Koo,
Representative, National Anti-Opium Association of China.

Annex III

A MEMORIAL FROM THE MEDICAL PROFESSION IN CHINA TO THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

(Sent out from the International Opium Association, Peking)

Whereas, The League of Nations is endeavoring to promote the Public Health of every country by means of international regulations and agreements; and

Whereas, Special efforts are being made to diminish and eventually eradicate the opium evil in all its forms, and important conferences on the subject will be held by the League of Nations next November; and

Whereas, It must greatly strengthen the work of the League of Nations and powerfully influence public opinion in China when it is known that the medical practitioners of China condemn the cultivation of the poppy and the unnecessary use of opium and its derivations; therefore

The National Medical Association of China with five hundred members, representing the scientific medical opinion of the Chinese, and the China Medical Missionary Association with a mem-

bership of five hundred and fifty composed mainly of British and American physicians practicing in China, representing foreign medical opinion on the subject, respectfully present the following memorial to the League of Nations:

1. We heartily approve the purpose of the Committees and Sub-Committees of the League of Nations to determine the legitimate requirements of various countries in regard to narcotic drugs and to restrict the world production to the amount actually required for medical and scientific purposes. Further, we desire to co-operate with the League of Nations in whatever other measures it may recommend for the suppression of the narcotic drug evil.

2. We hereby record our opinion that the habitual use of opium, and still more of morphia and heroin, is unnecessary, deleterious and morally degrading; we repudiate entirely the suggestion that the habitual or continual use of these drugs (except when prescribed by physicians in cases of advanced and painful diseases such as cancer) can ever be anything but harmful.

3. Recognizing that a certain proportion of the victims have acquired the drug habit in connection with the medical use of drugs, and as the habit so acquired is often worse than the disease for which it was prescribed, we desire to emphasize once again that the greatest care should be exercised by physicians in prescribing such drugs, and

that no lay person should be permitted to purchase opium in any form except upon the prescription of a properly qualified practitioner.

4. We hereby record our conviction that owing to the nature of morphia and the other narcotic alkaloids, no measures to prevent smuggling can ever prove efficient, and, therefore, we heartily endorse the view that the production in all countries should be so limited that the total world requirements for medical and scientific use of these drugs shall not be exceeded.

Respectfully submitted,

Signed on behalf of the NATIONAL MEDICAL ASSOCIATION OF CHINA,

By President.

By Vice-President.

Signed on behalf of the CHINA MEDICAL MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION,

By President.

By Secretary.

PART II

THE SECOND OPIUM CONFERENCE

Important Statements of the Chinese Delegation

CHINA'S POLICY OF PROHIBITION REAFFIRMED

At the fourth meeting of the Second Conference, Bishop Brent, of the American delegation, made an eloquent appeal that effective action be taken to achieve the purpose for which the Conference had been convened. The next day, at the fifth meeting, Mr. Sze said:

I was greatly impressed yesterday as I sat next to our distinguished President and listened to the eloquent address of Bishop Brent. Since then the more I think of it, the more profoundly I am impressed. I desire to say that the Chinese Government and the Chinese people will, I know, concur in what he has said.

Yesterday, Bishop Brent, the day on which you spoke, was the first day in two weeks on which we saw bright sunshine and today we continue to follow the lead you have taken in the general discussion. The sun continues to shine and we see bright light all around us. This is a happy augury.

Especially do I thank you, Bishop Brent, for saying: "China does not desire, nor will she be benefited by, the pity, the cynicism or the criticism of sister nations. She needs their encouragement and active aid." I also thank you for the statement that "the courageous treatment of this question (of

opium), in countries where the Chinese are resident in large numbers, could not fail to have its effects on China."

I note also that, regarding the proposition that I had the honor to make in the First Conference, to the effect that the Governments which derive profits from the sale of prepared opium to persons addicted to opium smoking should use these revenues in one way or another for the benefit of those unfortunates from whom the revenues are derived, you say: "This is a question which must be frankly answered, especially by such countries as claim that traffic in prepared opium is not practiced for the purpose of making revenue." I also note that you say: "The whole world waits for the answer."

China has suffered, and is now suffering, more than other nations from the misuse of opium and of narcotic drugs, but what I wish to say now relates more to the general humanitarian aspects of the question, which must appeal to all right-thinking peoples and to their Governments than to the special sufferings of the Chinese people.

The last century saw the disappearance among all civilized people of the institution of human slavery and the outlawing of slave trade, so as to place it in the same category as piracy upon the high seas. The world is now awakened to the debasing effects, physical and moral, of the use of opium and its derivatives and of other narcotic

drugs for other than strictly medicinal and scientific uses.

Surely this Conference will not disappoint the hope of the peoples of the world that, so far as is possible by common action on the part of the Powers, steps, far in advance of those made obligatory by the Hague Convention of 1912, will be taken by this Conference towards the suppression of this scourge which now so generally and so grievously afflicts humanity.

Surely we will not allow it to be said that the nations of the world, now gathered in friendly union in this room, will be willing for it to be said that they were not able to come to agreement as to the action to be taken by them individually or in cooperation with one another in order that, by progressive steps, mankind may be freed from the curse which now afflicts it.

I, of course, recognize that the regulation of the consumption of opium and drugs in any form or in any way by the people of a given State is, from the standpoint of public law, a matter for itself to determine and without any responsibility towards other nations, save from the broad humanitarian point of view, which, being ethical in character, rises above legal considerations. On behalf of the Chinese Government and of the Chinese people, however, I am able to pledge their support on behalf of any action that may be agreed to by the Powers which will tend to secure the results which are the purpose of this Conference.

Nearly twenty years ago, the Chinese Government, supported by the efforts of the most enlightened of its subjects, determined that the production and use of opium, save for strictly medicinal and scientific purposes, should cease throughout the broad territories of China. This aim was, within a period of ten years of heroic effort, substantially achieved. Since then, most regrettably, there has been a certain recrudescence of the cultivation of poppy, due to disturbed political conditions. The Chinese Government, however, has never departed, nor will it depart, from the policy declared in 1906.

When, happily, the Government at Peking is again able to exert full executive and administrative authority, it will, as one of its first activities, take steps to the full extent of its powers, to free the country once more from the misuse of opium, of its derivatives and of other narcotic drugs—drugs which, it may be said, are not manufactured in China and which may not be legally introduced into the country save for strictly medicinal and scientific purposes.

The Chinese Government, when it is able to act with efficiency, will certainly have the support of the best classes of its people.

There is a rapidly rising flood of public opinion, far surpassing what has ever before existed, which demands that the present production and consumption of opium within China, which is illegal under the Chinese law, shall cease. I have already had

the honor to lay before the First Conference some of the evidence showing the spread of this determination among the most intelligent of the Chinese people. In this connection, I would refer also to the letter of Mr. Koo, the representative of the recently organized National Anti-Opium Association of China. Only two days ago, I received a cablegram from the Secretary of that Association informing me that there are now represented in that Association thirteen hundred organizations, representing two million people.

My present purpose in stating these facts regarding China is solely in order to show the approval with which the views of Bishop Brent will be received by the Chinese Goverment and by the Chinese people. So far as they are concerned, the Conference may count upon their full co-operation in any action that may be taken by the Powers in general to lessen and, if possible, to bring to a complete end the evils now afflicting mankind by reason of the misuse of opium, of its derivatives, and of other narcotics drugs.

At the fourteenth meeting of the Sub-Committee B, Mr. Sze made the following additional statement as to what would be China's official policy with regard to the production of opium:

Mr. Sze stated that the production of opium

was prohibited in China. The Chinese laws on the subject were very definite, very strict, and very comprehensive. Unfortunately, poppy-growing had again increased owing to the disturbed condition of the country. The Chinese Government, however, had not altered the laws and the production of opium was still prohibited. The speaker was authorized by his Goverment, therefore, to state, both in the Sub-Committee and in the Plenary Conference, that China was still entirely in favor of the suppression of poppy-growing for other than medical and scientific purposes. The Government was determined to pursue this policy no matter what attitude might be adopted by the other Powers. It was to be hoped, however, that the latter would adopt the same policy, as the measures enforced by one country were bound to react on the situation in other countries. China was prepared, accordingly, to accept Article I of the American proposal, without reservation.[1]

[1] Article I of the American Proposal was as follows:

"The Contracting Powers shall enact effective laws or regulations for the control of the production and distribution of raw opium and coca leaves so that there will be no surplus available for purposes not strictly medical or scientific.

"The foregoing provision shall not operate to prevent the production for exportation, or exportation, of raw opium for the purpose of making prepared opium, into those territories where the use of prepared opium is still temporarily permitted under Chapter II of this [Hague Opium] Convention, so long as such exportation is in conformity with the provisions of this Convention."

COMPETENCE OF THE SECOND CONFERENCE

At the seventh plenary meeting of the Second Conference, Mr. Sze, with reference to the question of the competence of the Conference to deal with the American proposal for the limitation of the amount of opium and coca leaf to be produced so that there would be no surplus available for non-medicinal and non-scientific uses, said:

The Chinese delegation has this to say with regard to the scope of this Conference. My delegation understands that this Conference has been called in order that the Powers represented here may agree upon common action for the full realization of the aims of the Hague Convention; these aims have been officially declared in the two American resolutions presented to the Opium Advisory Committee at its fifth session, and, with certain reservations as to legitimacy, under the Hague Convention, of the use of prepared opium, approved by the Assembly of the League of Nations.

These resolutions read as follows:

"1. If the purpose of the Hague Opium Convention is to be achieved according to its spirit and true intent, it must be recognized that the use of opium products for other than medicinal and scientific purposes is an abuse and not legitimate.

"2. In order to prevent the abuse of these drugs, it is necessary to exercise the control of the production of raw opium in such a manner that there will be no surplus available for non-medicinal and non-scientific purposes."

The determination of the League to invite all the nations of the world to assemble, through their representatives on this Conference, was predicated upon the American proposals. In its report of June 16, 1923, to the Council of the League, the Advisory Committee say:

"These proposals were amplified by the United States representatives, who, in commenting on them, showed that they were in full accordance with both the letter and the spirit of the International Opium Convention of 1912.

"The Committee very fully examined the proposals of the United States. It would be difficult in a short space to summarize the discussions which took place, but a full report of them is included in the Minutes of the meetings and reference should be made to them.

"After a long discussion, and on the proposal of a Drafting Committee, which was appointed to prepare the final text, the Committee adopted unanimously the following resolution."

Then follows the resolution, the fourth paragraph of which reads:

"As a means of giving effect to the principles submitted by the representatives of the United States

and the policy which the League, on the recommendation of the Committee, has adopted, and having regard to the information now available, the Advisory Committee recommends to the Council the advisability of inviting the Governments . . . . to enter into immediate negotiations . . . . to consider whether, with a view to giving the fullest possible effect to the Convention of 1912, agreements could not now be reached between them."

There then follows in the resolution of the Advisory Committee a statement of the various points upon which it is desirable that agreement should be reached. No statement or suggestion is made by the Committee, nor by the Assembly of the League which approved the resolution, that the points thus enumerated exhausted all those that might be involved in any common agreement which might be reached by the nations with a view to giving the fullest possible effect to the purposes of the Hague Convention as defined in the American resolutions.

This Conference would be controlled by an extraordinarily technical, not to say strained, interpretation of its province and powers were it to decide that it could examine, and come to agreement, only upon those points which, by way of description rather than by way of limitation, the Advisory Committee and the Assembly deemed desirable to refer to in their resolutions. Certainly it had not occurred to the Chinese delegation that the Conference would consider itself competent to consider

only measures directly relating to the points enumerated by the Advisory Committee and by the Assembly of the League.

Certainly, also, it has been the expectation of the peoples of the world that the Conference should seek in every way possible to abate, and if possible wholly to correct, the evils that now result from the abuse of opium, of cocaine, of their derivatives, and of other similar narcotic drugs.

Apart from other and more general considerations, the Chinese delegation is concerned with the matter at issue, since it desires that the Conference should give its favorable consideration to certain proposals which the delegation will make for carrying out effectively the provisions of Chapter IV of the Hague Convention. (*Applause.*)

At the eleventh plenary meeting, with reference to the question of competence of the Second Conference, Mr. Sze further said:

Mr. President, members of the Conference: I want first of all to thank the delegate of Bolivia for his courtesy in allowing me to speak before him.

The paper that I am about to read to you was prepared yesterday before I had had the advantage of listening to the speeches made this morning; therefore, I do not propose to touch upon these recent speeches except to say one or two words of appreciation in respect of one or two of the speakers.

I want to tell you all that I have always believed in the sincerity of the distinguished delegate of the British Empire. I have been associated with him in the First Conference. I need only remind you that he was the author of the program for that Conference. I have followed him most closely and have seen how he tried to put through the program which he proposed. For that very reason I asked him, begged him, implored him again and again, in the First Conference to get his program through and, if possible, to get through more than he had proposed to the Advisory Committee.

As to the remarks made by the delegate for the Netherlands, I noticed that he emphasized his point regarding opium for export. In discussing the question of opium for export, it will be difficult not to touch upon one or two aspects of opium declared and even certified for domestic use only. We all know that some of the opium imported into the Far Eastern territories and possessions of the European Powers for local consumption has found channels by which to leave such territories and possessions and go to other countries. The memorandum of the Persian delegation also throws considerable interesting light on opium exported from a neighboring country which should never have left the borders of that producing country.

I fully subscribe to the principle that nations assembled in a Conference should not attempt to dictate to one of their members the domestic poli-

cies it should pursue. Especially in the case of India, as we were told by its distinguished delegate in the First Opium Conference, the Government operates under the peculiar disadvantage that such efforts as it might be disposed to make to educate its subjects regarding the evils of the misuse of opium would be worse than futile. He quoted as an instance—an instance which was within his personal and official knowledge—the experience of his Government at a time when plague was raging. The people were exhorted by the Government to take preventive measures and they refused to do so. When, however, the Govermnent ceased its efforts, the people themselves, feeling that they were acting without governmental compulsion, at once took action to free themselves from the scourge from which they were suffering.

While thus agreeing with the distinguished delegate of India that a country must determine for itself what is feasible and desirable for it to do in regard to the production and use of opium, I am not able to agree with him, but, rather, must agree with the views of the delegation of the United States of America, that, when an International Conference is considering a matter of world-wide importance, it is proper that it should examine that matter in all its aspects, even though, incidentally, it becomes necessary to consider conditions in a particular country, provided, of course, that that consideration is controlled by a spirit of friendliness and fairness.

In the First Conference the distinguished delegate of the Government of India did not hesitate—indeed, he seemed to show at times even an eagerness—to animadvert upon conditions in my own country. To this I raised no objection save when I thought that he had been misled, by a too credulous mind, to accept as true statements for which, in fact, there was no adequate supporting evidence.

It seems to me that, as was said by the distinguished first delegate of the United States of America, the Indian Government should not be too apprehensive of what may be the outcome of a discussion regarding the possibility of so limiting the production of the world's opium as to leave no surplus for other than strictly medicinal and scientific uses. Should the Conference, as a result of that discussion, embody in the Convention which it drafts proposals which are not acceptable to the Indian Government, that Government can, by express reservations, relieve itself from obligation to enforce them within its own jurisdiction.

It is a strange proposition that a single participating Government may demand that an International Conference shall exclude from its consideration a subject of general and great importance simply because that Government fears that, incidentally, references may be made to conditions of fact existing within its territories and because it is apprehensive that agreements may be reached by the other Powers to which it may have to make reservations.

As regards technical questions regarding the competence of this Conference, I have no desire to speak at length. The issue has been somewhat confused by the allegation upon the part of the distinguished first delegate of the Government of India of an understanding, based, in part at least, upon unrecorded events and upon his personal interpretation of them, that the proposition contained in Article 1 of the American delegation's draft would not be presented to this Conference by that delegation.

It seems, however, from the statement made by the American delegation that there was no such understanding. At any rate, this side issue is of no importance to the Conference, for, even had such an understanding existed between the representatives of the American and Indian Governments, it would still be within the right of any other Government represented at this Conference to make the same proposal as that which the American delegation has made in Article 1 of its program.

This, then, brings us back to the real question of what may be termed the constitutional competence of this Conference, and this question is a very simple one. The Conference, as is admitted by all, derives its competence from the invitation that called it into being. That invitation was issued by the League of Nations in pursuance of a resolution adopted on September 27, 1923, which stated that the Conference should be called to devise measures

to be taken "as a means of giving effect to the principles submitted by the representatives of the United States of America and to the policy which the League, on the recommendation of the Advisory Committee, has adopted." These American proposals, which the Assembly of the League itself denominates as "principles," although the first delegate of the Government of India objects to the term, state, in so many words, that, if the purpose of the Hague Convention is to be achieved according to its spirit and true intent, the use of opium products for other than medicinal and scientific purposes is an abuse and is not legitimate, and that, if this abuse and illegitimate use is to be prevented, the production of raw opium must be so controlled that there will be no surplus available for non-medicinal and non-scientific purposes.

It has been said that it was not within the jurisdiction of the Advisory Committee, not even of the League itself, to construe the meaning of the Hague Convention. This is true in the sense that neither the Advisory Committee nor the League can give to the Hague Convention a construction that will legally determine the obligations under it of the Powers signatory to it. But it was fully within the competence of the Advisory Committee of the League and of the League itself to announce to the world what was its own construction of the purpose of the Hague Convention, and, in the light of that construction, to invite the nations of the world to meet again in order to agree, by common action,

upon means, further than those already in operation, for realizing the aims thus declared.

The nature of this Conference or of its competence would not have been changed if the League had simply affirmed, without reference to the Hague Convention, that the use of opium products for other than medicinal and scientific purposes is an abuse and that, for the correction of that abuse, it seemed to the League that the production of opium should be so controlled that there would be no surplus available for non-medicinal and non-scientific purposes, and that, based upon that proposal, the Powers should assemble in order to determine concerted means for giving effect to it.

The honorable delegate of the Government of India has called attention to the fact that, in the Advisory Committee, at the time the American proposals were accepted, he made the reservation that the use of raw opium according to established practice in India, and its production for such use, were not to be deemed illegitimate under the Hague Convention.

No reference is made in the resolutions adopted by the Assembly of the League to this reservation, but, whatever significance, little or great, may be attached to this omission, it is to be observed that the reservation in question has, by its very terms, no further force than to assert that the established use of opium in India, and its production for that use, do not come under the ban of the Hague Con-

vention. The reservation does not assert that the established use of opium in India is legitimate in the broader and intrinsic sense of being physically and morally harmless. Despite the world's medical and scientific opinion, the Indian Government may maintain that, as used in India, opium is thus harmless, but this proposal is not contained in the reservation made by the Indian representative in the Advisory Committee.

In June, 1921, upon the motion of the representative of the Republic of China, Dr. Wellington Koo, the Council of the League of Nations resolved:

"That, in view of the world-wide interest in the attitude of the League toward the opium question, and of the general desire to reduce and restrict the cultivation and production of opium to strictly medicinal and scientific purposes, the Advisory Committee on Traffic in Opium be requested to consider and report, at its next meeting, on the possibility of instituting an inquiry to determine approximately the average requirements of raw and prepared opium specified in Chapters I and II of the [Hague] Convention for medical and scientific purposes in different countries."

In view, then, of this resolution, proposed by the representative of China more than three years ago and adopted by the Council, and in view of what I have just now had occasion to say, the Chinese

delegation to this Conference declares that it supports the proposition that this Conference is competent to discuss and act upon the proposal contained in Article 1 of the American program, and is, therefore, prepared to support the motion made by Mr. Porter that this proposal be referred to the First Committee.

THE ANTI-OPIUM MOVEMENT IN CHINA

At the fourteenth plenary meeting of the Second Conference, supplementing what he had said in the First Conference regarding the growth of an anti-opium movement in China, Mr. Sze said:

Mr. President and members of the Conference, owing to the lateness of the hour I do not propose this afternoon to discuss the many points which have been raised by the different speakers today. I shall reserve that pleasure for a subsequent occasion.

When I received a copy of the agenda this morning, I did not expect that there would be so much of a tempest in the teacup this afternoon. I thought that questions of a similar nature had been discussed before when the American delegation submitted Article 1 and Article 9*a* of their proposals to this Conference. I therefore thought it would be unnecessary for me to trespass upon your time by preparing a set speech to read to you. As I am not going to read any special paper, I just want to put on record one or two statements which I think I ought to make clear to you.

First of all, I consider that the First Conference, unhappily and unfortunately, has not come to the conclusions that we all would have liked to see.

Even so distinguished and so expert an authority as my distinguished friend the chief delegate of the British Empire told you this afternoon that the work of the First Conference was not as satisfactory as he could have wished; I would like to ask any and every member of the First Conference if they do not agree with the distinguished chief delegate of the British Empire. I certainly do. It would be unfair on my part if I did not tell you so. My distinguished friend from Great Britain, however, has preceded me, so I simply want to confirm what he has said, namely, that the work of the First Conference has, unfortunately and unhappily, been very unsatisfactory.

My second point is this. The present Conference is fully competent to take up the question of Chapter II of the Hague Convention or Chapter II of the American proposals. I need not dwell upon any of the arguments which have been brought forward. Some arguments were given the other day by some of the speakers who are more eloquent than I am, so I content myself by simply repeating in one single sentence that I consider that this Conference is fully competent to consider Chapter II of the American proposals.

While I do not propose, in view of the lateness of the hour, to discuss the various points which have been raised by the different delegations, there is one point which was raised by Mr. Porter about which I must lose no time in saying a few words, in order that there may be no misunderstanding.

Mr. Porter read to you the fifth resolution of the fourth Assembly, in which are mentioned the measures to be taken by China. If we all read carefully the wording of that resolution, we shall see that it was for China herself to take the measures. I want that fact to be clearly understood, and I beg those of you who have not yet read Resolution V carefully to do so now. The measures were measures to be taken by China herself, and that question was thoroughly discussed in the First Conference when I gave an assurance in language which was as clear and definite as possible; that assurance was accepted by the First Conference.

In order to prove to you that the assurance I gave to the First Conference has already borne good results and to prove that what I say is true as regards China, I beg to read to you a telegram which has been received by the Chinese people's representative to the Opium Conference. Yesterday he handed me a telegram which he had received from the National Anti-Opium Association of Shanghai dated December 10, 1924. That telegram states that, according to the latest statistics, 750 cities are now participating in the anti-opium work and that in this campaign there are now three thousand organizations with a membership of three million people. May I be permitted to remind you that, within the last month, Mr. Koo, our people's representative, received another telegram giving statistics, and instead of seven hundred and fifty cities there were then only three hundred; instead

of three thousand organizations, there were only two thousand at that time, and instead of three million people, there were then only one million people participating in anti-opium work. Is that not a miracle?

I want to ask you if there is any other country represented in this room which is taking so active and so earnest a part in endeavoring to put an end to opium, drugs and other evils? I challenge anybody to say that, in their country, so much has been done within so short a time. Further information is given in the telegram to which I have just referred and I want to mention one more point, which is this: Since the result of the First Conference has been known in China, mass meetings have been held, and those mass meetings have expressed in clear language what they think of the results of the First Conference. You will be surprised to hear, but nevertheless it is the fact, that more space is given in the Chinese Press today, with the possible exception of the American Press, to the work of the Opium Conference at Geneva than is given in the Press of any other country. Is that not a remarkable fact? Although we have not so many reporters at this Conference as some of the other nations, I am proud to say that China is giving careful attention to the work of this Conference and is watching it with an attention which is perhaps only surpassed by the United States of America.

Mr. Porter has made an appeal to the Second

Conference, inviting it to deal with Chapter II of the United States suggestions. Mr. Porter, I want to assure you, and I want to assure other delegations who spoke in favor of the proposal, that China is ready to second the efforts of any delegation in order that the evils from which this world has been suffering, and from which it is suffering now, may be removed. My instructions are explicit—that I am to come here and co-operate with everybody and anybody whose aim is to put an end to these drug and opium evils.

Mr. Porter mentioned the help that other Powers might give to China. China will appreciate any help which is really a help; but the only form of help which, I think, the Powers can give to China in this great campaign is by taking some measures in their own territories which will react beneficially on China. There is the line of action; that is the point. I appeal to those Powers who have participated in the First Conference that this is the road to follow.

One of the speakers today placed the members of the Conference more or less in two classes. One class he mentioned as idealists and another class as experts. I do not know whether he has in mind a third class, "indifferents." I would rather any day be called an idealist than be an expert who will not help the world to put an end to this opium and drug evil. I would rather any day be called an idealist than shut my eyes to the sufferings of large

numbers of my countrymen who are now residing in the territories and the possessions of European Powers in the Far East and who have the opportunity of legalized opium-smoking. The number is not small. They are not counted by tens, by hundreds, by thousands, or by tens of thousands; they are counted by hundreds of thousands. I am willing any day to be called an idealist rather than an expert if I can help some of my poor countrymen.

In one of the official reports presented by one of the delegations, it was stated that many of my unfortunate countrymen had acquired the opium habit abroad, and that the percentage was in some cases as high as eighty-five.

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, you cannot blame me for being solicitous about my afflicted fellow-countrymen, especially when I tell you that the number is not counted by tens or hundreds or thousands or tens of thousands, but by hundreds of thousands. Therefore, Mr. Porter, and you, gentlemen, who are supporting him, I wish to say that I am ready, with you, to urge this Conference that something should be done in regard to this matter. Do not let technicalities block our way. Let us listen to and follow the demand of humanity. Let us have a conscience and say that something shall be done.

BRITISH PROPOSAL IN THE SECOND CONFERENCE

At the twenty-first meeting of the Second Conference, Mr. Sze made the following statement of the reasons why the Chinese delegation could not give its assent to the proposals[1] presented to the Conference by Lord Cecil in behalf of the British delegation:

[1] These proposals, made at the nineteenth meeting, were:

"(1) His Majesty's Government undertakes that opium-smoking shall be abolished in the British Far Eastern territories in which such smoking is temporarily authorized, within a period of not more than fifteen years from the date on which the effective execution of the measures taken by China to suppress the growth of the opium poppy has reached such a stage as to remove the danger of opium smuggling from China into those territories.

"(2) As soon as it is established in the manner indicated in the following paragraph that the effective execution of the said measures has reached the stage referred to above, the necessary measures will be initiated to enable the complete prohibition of smoking to be effective at the end of the said period.

"(3) The question when the effective execution of the measures mentioned in paragraph (1) has reached the stage referred to in that paragraph shall be decided by a Commission to be appointed by the Council of the League of Nations, whose decision shall be final.

"Then comes an explanatory paragraph:

"(4) It is understood (*a*) that, as soon as the period of fifteen years referred to in paragraph (1) has begun to run, opium-smoking by persons who are not smokers at that date shall forthwith be prohibited: (*b*) that the complete prohibition of opium-smoking to be effective by the end of the said period of fifteen years is not inconsistent with special and temporary provisions for persons in whose case it is certified by the medical authorities of the State concerned that they cannot be completely deprived of the drug without serious danger to life or health."

Mr. President and members of the Conference, before I address you I wish to ask your permission to preface what I have to say by one or two remarks.

First of all, members of the Conference, I wish to assure you that I treat you all alike, whether you are among those who only came yesterday or are among those who were here at the beginning of the Conference, or among those with whom I had the pleasure of working with at the First Conference. I treat you all alike. We are all on an equal footing; we are all plenipotentiaries.

Secondly, I wish to make a remark which I had the honor of making in the First Conference. Remarks were made here yesterday, and there have been others today, which refer to my country; in some of them the name of my country was specifically mentioned and in others there were insinuations.

I do not propose today for various reasons to take issue with regard to those remarks or to correct them. My first reason is that the statement which I am about to read to you, particularly with reference to the subject now before us, is sufficiently long, and I do not wish to take up too much of your time by other matters. Secondly, some of the remarks were so absurd, so manifestly absurd, that it would reflect on your intelligence if I were to take up your time by telling you that they are wrong.

This is obvious from the facts of the case. Therefore I shall not deal with those remarks.

I have already taken up the time of the First Conference on this issue, and the falsity of these allegations has been explained to it and no challenge has been made as to their disproof either by members of the First Conference or by anybody else. Since that time, no lady or gentleman, whether a newcomer or an old member, has pointed out to me that I was wrong. I shall therefore content myself by at once reading to you the paper that I have prepared.

Mr. President and members of the Conference, I shall not conceal the concern that I felt when, four weeks ago, this Conference found itself compelled to adjourn in order to prevent a confession upon its part of its inability to effect the purpose for which it had been convened. Now that we have been again convened, my concern has been deepened by reason of the declarations that have been made by certain of the delegations, and especially by that of the British Empire.

In the address that was made yesterday by Viscount Cecil, the chief of the British delegation, a number of assertions were made, the correctness of which might easily be challenged; but I shall not now take up the time of the Conference by dealing with them, since I am anxious to keep our discussion above the level of disputable matters of fact, and to have it deal with broader and more funda-

mental issues. When I come to deal with the specific proposal which Viscount Cecil has made on behalf of his Government, I shall likewise consider its essential character rather than its accidental or specific features.

Before doing this, however, I wish to express personally and on behalf of my Government and people, my and their appreciation of the statement of His Lordship that his Government accepts with full confidence in their sincerity the assurances that the Chinese delegation has given that the Chinese Government will not depart from its policy of absolute prohibition of the production and consumption of opium in China save for strictly medicinal and scientific purposes, and that when its authority is again completely established throughout the provinces it will, as one of its first measures, take effective steps, to the extent of its administrative and executive power, to bring to an end that production and consumption of opium within China which though illegal under Chinese law, the Government is now not able to suppress.

The proposal presented by Viscount Cecil on behalf of the British Government is in effect a proposal that the obligation unqualifiedly assumed by the Powers in Chapter II of the Hague Convention shall be transformed into a conditional and contingent one.

These Powers, which still legalize the use of prepared opium within their several territories or pos-

sessions, obtain their opium for this use from abroad. If we examine the purposes especially enumerated by the League of Nations, for the attainment of which we were invited to assemble at Geneva, it is found that one of them is "the conclusion of an agreement as to the measures for giving effective application in the Far East to Part II of the (Hague) Convention and as to a reduction of the amount of raw opium to be imported for the purpose of smoking in those territories where it is temporarily continued."

In the face of this admonition, contained in the resolutions of the Assembly, and which furnishes us with the official basis for our work, we are now asked to weaken rather than to strengthen the obligations which the Powers solemnly assumed when they signed and ratified the Hague Convention; to avoid the execution of an obligation unqualified in its terms, and in its place to assume an obligation the fulfilment of which is to be dependent upon the coming into existence of certain conditions in another country. Convened to do a certain thing, we are asked to do the opposite. Instead of proposing measures which will give effective application to the obligations assumed by the powers in Chapter II of the Hague Convention, it is proposed that we shall impair and weaken those obligations.

For these reasons, fundamental in their nature, and relating directly to the sanctity of international

contracts, the Chinese delegation is constrained to express its dissent from the proposal which the delegation of the British Empire has presented. This opposition is thus in no wise based upon a fear that the Government of China will not be able, within the near future, to bring to an end within its borders the present production and consumption of opium, which are illegal under the Chinese law. On the contrary, the rapidly rising tide of anti-opium public opinion in China gives assurance that this can and will be done. What the Chinese delegation does object to—and it is convinced that the other delegations will also object—is that an unqualified obligation shall be transmuted into a conditional or contingent one and thus authorization given by this Conference to a retreat from, instead of an advance towards, that goal which we are striving to reach.

It would be difficult, if not impossible, to explain our action before the world should we take such a backward step. In China it would be difficult, indeed I may say that it would be impossible, to explain and justify such action. The Chinese people, who fully appreciate the opium evils which now so unfortunately beset them, though discouraged by the failure upon the part of the Powers with Far Eastern possessions to take effective steps to suppress the smoking of opium by the thousands and hundreds of thousands of Chinese who dwell in these possessions, have had their hopes again

raised by the convening of the two Conferences at Geneva.

If it shall appear from the attitude taken by these Western Powers at this Conference that, so far from undertaking to take steps to bring to an end, within a brief or definite period of years, the legalized smoking of opium within their several possessions, it is their desire to postpone to an indefinite date such a suppression, my people will be greatly shocked.

These Powers have repeatedly declared their desire to give China such aid as they properly can in order to enable her to correct the opium evils which now afflict her. If this aid is to be given, Mr. President, it should be given now and not at some uncertain date. This present aid, which China eagerly desires, can be given in its most effective and, possibly, its only wholly acceptable form by action upon the part of the Powers so to control the manufacture and exportation of narcotic drugs that an end will be put to the contraband trade in those drugs and therefore to the flood of illicit morphine, heroin and cocaine which is now entering China and doing such dire damage to her people, and by action upon the part of the Powers which have Far Eastern possessions which will bring to an early termination the traffic in prepared opium—a traffic which especially affects, and, in some cases, exclusively affects, the Chinese residents in those possessions.

My delegation, Mr. President, has not attempted

to deny the existence of contraband trade in opium, some of which opium, though by no means all of it, is of Chinese origin; nor has my delegation sought to assert that this illicit trade has not increased the task of progressively reducing the illicit traffic in those possessions in which the use of prepared opium is still permitted by law. But what the Chinese delegation has objected to has been the magnification of the extent of this illicit trade, and the bringing forward of its existence by the Powers as a reason why they should be released from the performance of the solemn international obligation which they assumed when they signed or gave their adherence to the Hague Convention. Especially does the Chinese delegation object to this attempt to evade a contractual obligation upon this ground in view of the fact that the Governments concerned have made no serious attempt to demonstrate that they have themselves made every effort that is reasonably possible to check that contraband trade.

But, however that may be, and it is to be admitted that it is a matter upon which it is impossible to speak with precision, it is not proper that the Powers which still permit the use of prepared opium in their Far Eastern possessions should seek to excuse themselves from doing what they can to reduce this use within these territories because of unsatisfactory conditions that prevail in China. There has already been quoted to you the statement of Sir John Jordan, to the effect that he could not believe that the Powers of the West would be

willing to shelter themselves behind the plea that they were absolved from performing their part of the obligations assumed by them under the Hague Convention because of disordered conditions in countries like China, Persia and Turkey.

Mr. President, I do not desire today to quote to you and the members of the Conference too many passages from the Minutes of the Advisory Committee, but in view of the fact that some members joined this Conference late and have not had the time to consult those Minutes, perhaps I might be permitted to quote one only.

I am going to quote a passage from the Minutes of the fourth session of that Committee, page 41:

"Sir John Jordan, replying to Mr. Campbell's remarks at the previous meeting, said that he had no intention of criticizing the internal administration of the opium problem in India. Mr. Campbell had assured the Committee once more that the Indian Government would never undertake the suppression of opium in India. The Assembly had sanctioned this decision, and he did not desire to question its wisdom. He only referred to India as a producing and exporting country. Turkey, Persia and India were the three principal producing and exporting countries. He hoped that both Turkey and Persia would be represented at the next session of the Committee, and he suggested that the three countries might come to an understanding to reduce proportionally their present exports of opium to the

Far Eastern possessions of European Powers. His suggestion struck at the root of the whole question: *i. e.*, at production. The Committee had always interpreted the Hague Convention in the sense that that instrument placed no limitation on the production of raw opium, while another of its clauses provided for the gradual and effective suppression of prepared opium. India or Persia could not, under the terms of the Convention, export prepared opium, but they could export without limit raw opium to Ceylon, Singapore, or to any other place, where it was all converted into prepared opium. This was, in his opinion, an absurd position. There seemed to be a joker in the Convention pack of cards. For this reason, he had frequently impressed upon the Committee that the limitation of production was the only real solution.

"Mr. Campbell has shown that there had been a reduction of exports to two out of seven or eight Far Eastern possessions. In Singapore, on the other hand, there had been an increase in the years 1918-1920. Since 1918, the consumption in the Federated Malay States had remained constant. It was the same in Siam. The reduction in Hong-Kong was more apparent than real, since Indian opium had there been supplanted to some extent by Chinese opium, and Persian opium had elsewhere taken the place of Indian.

"It was quite true that the Indian Government did not export a single ounce of opium to a country which did not ask for it. The Committee, however,

must remember that the Far Eastern possessions of European Powers were not in the position of self-governing countries. They were Crown colonies ruled by Governments in Europe, and the responsibility for what happened attached to those Governments. This responsibility was all the greater because the people concerned were not nationals of the countries holding Far Eastern possessions, but were Chinese settlers who carried back the habit to China.

"One thing was quite clear: whatever the amount of opium produced, it would all be consumed. The amount produced was the amount consumed, and unless production was reduced the problem would never be solved. His opinion was based on experience. He had dealt with the problem in China for ten years from 1907-1917. In China, during that period, the question had been attacked from the standpoint of production. Consumption had been considered a secondary question. The Committee had reversed this procedure. For ten years production was gradually reduced in China, and had been, in the end, practically suppressed. Despite the present very disturbed state in China, most of the reform which had been accomplished by 1917 still remained. The International Opium Association at Peking went so far as to say nine-tenths of it. In his own opinion, at least three-quarters of it remained. The reduction, therefore, in China was far greater in proportion than the reduction in the Eastern possessions of other Powers, and that meant

that the overseas Chinese—that was, the Chinese living under Western rule—were in a far worse position as regards opium than the Chinese living in their own country. This was not to the credit of the Western countries concerned."

Such are the words of Sir John Jordan.

So much for the plea of confession and avoidance which the British delegation has presented.

The United States delegation, as you have heard, has sought to meet, as far as possible, the wishes of the Governments of the Powers with Far Eastern possessions by agreeing to modify its original proposal[1] to the extent of extending from ten to fifteen years the period during which those Powers are to bring about that effective suppression of the legalized use of prepared opium which is promised in the Hague Convention. To such a liberal proposition as this there would seem to be no reasonable ground for objection, and I urge, in the most solemn manner, that it be accepted. The possible consequences

[1] The original American proposal ran:

"Each Contracting Party in whose territory the use of prepared opium is now temporarily permitted agrees to reduce its imports of raw opium for the purpose of making prepared opium by 10 per cent of its present importation each year for a period of ten years beginning with the date of ratification of this Convention by it, and further agrees not to supplement the reduction by domestically produced opium; and further agrees that at the end of such period of ten years it will prohibit the importation of raw opium for the purpose of making prepared opium. By 'present importation' is understood the importation during the twelve months immediately preceding the date the Contracting Party ratifies this Convention."

of a rejection of it will be most serious in character, and of these possible consequences I feel constrained to speak.

The general problem with which this Conference has to deal would be one of great importance even if it were regarded simply as a matter of securing a more effective regulation of the traffic in narcotic drugs and the control of the production of the raw material out of which these drugs are manufactured. But, when viewed in its larger aspects, the problem is seen to be a far greater one, for, by necessity, it involves the great question whether the Governments of the world have reached that degree of enlightenment and that stage of ethical development which enable them to determine their policy by principles of justice and right, and which dispose them to sacrifice immediate and sordid interests in order that the ultimate welfare of humanity may be secured.

Co-operation between sovereign Powers is possible only when these Powers are willing to sacrifice their own selfish interests in order that some larger and more general good may be achieved. The results reached by this Conference will show whether this stage of internationalism has been reached. There have been other Conferences assembled at the invitation and under the auspices of the League of Nations, but, in one respect, the one in which we are now gathered exceeds in significance those that have preceded it. This special significance is

due to the fact that we have to deal with a problem which is essentially a moral one. It has political implications only in so far as the confidence in the good-will of Governments will be judged by what they do here; it has economic or financial aspects only in so far as there are vested interests which will profit by a continuance of the evil which this Conference has been convened to abolish.

It is not necessary for me to speak of the moral aspects of our problem. They speak for themselves. It is upon some other broader aspects of it that I wish, for a moment, to dwell.

Of one thing we may be sure, and that is, that, should we fail in the task that has been assigned to us, those Powers which, by their refusal to subordinate materialistic and sordid considerations to ethical obligations, compel this failure will be held responsible by the other nations of the world. They will be regarded as nations which have not yet moralized their public policies. They will, therefore, have to pay a heavy price for whatever immediate or materialistic interests they manage to conserve to themselves, and it is not unlikely that this price will be measured not only in terms of moral prestige but also in terms of those very financial and economic interests upon which they will have shown that they set such store.

As to these possibilities, in so far as they relate to the future relations between the four hundred millions of Chinese and the Western Powers that

possess territories in the Far East, I am, perhaps, as myself a Chinese, in a better position to speak than most of you, and, therefore, to these possibilities I feel myself justified in calling your attention.

Among the features which have specially characterized traditional Chinese thought and civilization, two have stood out with especial clearness. One of these has been the emphasis that has been laid upon the moral aspects of life. Until recently, indeed, almost the whole purpose of the Chinese educational system was the inculcation of the ethical duties of man. The other feature has been the extent to which the Chinese people have relied upon reason rather than upon force, with the result that the Chinese Government, even when nominally autocratic, has depended, in order to obtain obedience to its laws, rather upon persuasion than upon compulsion, and, therefore, has promulgated its laws in hortatory rather than mandatory form.

I speak of these matters because they have become ingrained in the Chinese people, and, therefore, should they become convinced that certain of the Western Powers are not disposed to have regard for the moral and physical welfare of the hundreds of thousands of their fellow-countrymen dwelling within their Far Eastern possessions, and do in fact unjustly discriminate between them and their own subjects or citizens, they, the Chinese in China, will be moved by a profound moral indignation.

Instances of the results to trade and commerce, not to speak of other less material but more important consequences that have followed within recent years from a sense upon the part of the Chinese people of right outraged will occur to you all. They indicate to you what may result should my people find that certain of the Western Powers are determined to continue to derive large public revenues from the sale of prepared opium to Chinese living in their Far Eastern possessions, or from the exportation to those possessions of the raw opium from which the prepared opium is to be manufactured.

I do not wish to dwell too much upon the economic or commercial consequences that may possibly result from the action that the Powers may take in this Conference, but it is a phase of our problem that cannot be wholly ignored. The significance of the trade of China to the other trading nations of the world needs no emphasis by me. Only a few days ago in the London *Times* of January 3, 1925, there appeared a message from its own Peking correspondent in which it was pointed out that, although the year just ended had been, for China, one of the most troublous in her history, the customs duties collected had exceeded, by over six million taels, all previous records, and that the total duties collected had represented a foreign trade of more than two hundred million pounds, of which something like forty per cent had been British.

The recent strikes of sailors and workmen in Hong-Kong and Shameen show that Chinese laborers are rapidly grouping themselves into effective unions, and thus are able, upon occasion, to assert an influence that cannot be lightly regarded. I would also recall to your memory the evidence contained in the address made to the Conference by Mr. T. Z. Koo, and in other communications to which I have had occasion to refer, as to the enormous interest that the Chinese people are taking in the whole opium question, and the anxiety with which they are watching the procedure of this Conference. This means that if they feel that they have cause for indignation at the position taken by any of the Powers in this Conference, that indignation may lead to popular movements which the authorities might find it difficult to counteract, much as they might desire to do so, and which will have an influence upon the trade of the countries concerned, and also upon the free flow of laborers to the Far Eastern possessions of the European Powers.

I gladly leave, however, these materialistic implications of our problem and turn to a phase of it which, because more cultural or spiritual in character, is of still greater importance. This aspect of the question has to do with the future relations of the Eastern and Western peoples.

For many years past, the peoples of the West have proceeded upon the conviction that their

civilization, and especially their religions and their codes of morality founded upon them, are superior to the systems of thought and conduct of the East. Based upon this assumption, the peoples of the West, encouraged and supported in many instances by their Governments, have sought by educational propaganda and missionary effort to persuade the Orientals to accept the Western ideas and ideals in place of those of their own.

I shall not attempt to discuss how far this conviction upon the part of the Western peoples has had a firm foundation of fact, but this much can certainly be said, that, whatever be the opinion held upon these points, to the Oriental as to the Occidental, a principle of right and justice must, from its very nature, be as valid when applied in the East as when applied in the West. Hence it must result that if, when put to the practical test, it be found that Western Powers, which claim to enjoy the benefits of Western civilization, as carried to its highest point of development, are determined to continue indefinitely in their Far Eastern possessions a traffic which admittedly debauches the hundreds of thousands of Chinese who dwell in their possessions, there can be no other result than that not only will Western systems of ethics be deprived of much of the respect which they command from the peoples of the East, but the Governments of the West will lose somewhat the regard which they now enjoy in Eastern Asia. By this I

mean that it will henceforth be more difficult for them to convince the Powers of the East of the sincerity of their professions of good-will.

It may be thought by some of you that I have unduly trespassed upon your time by speaking at such length. But I ask you to believe that I have been moved by a strong conviction of the profound importance of the matters which I have brought to your attention. Having this conviction, I have felt that I could not do otherwise than I have done in urging that the problem with which we are attempting to deal should be considered not only in its immediate and obvious aspects, but also in its broader and ultimate implications.

For these reasons, I earnestly appeal to my colleagues to agree to refer the American proposal without further hesitation to a special Sub-Committee for discussion and action, and subsequent report of its conclusions to this Conference. (*Applause.*)

INDIAN HEMP

At the sixteenth plenary meeting of the Second Conference, Mr. Sze expressed the approval of the Chinese delegation of the proposition,[1] presented by the Egyptian delegation, that the Conference should authorize all possible steps to check the illegitimate use of hashish.

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[1] The proposals of the Egyptian delegation ran:

"It should henceforward be understood that all known narcotic substances, not at present classified as dangerous drugs, but nevertheless capable of being regarded as such, together with any other narcotic drug which may be discovered or manufactured in future, should automatically come under the provisions of the Convention which we desire to conclude.

"1. That hashish be included in the list of dangerous drugs with which we are to deal.

"2. That the Powers signatory of the Convention impose penalties for offenses against the provisions of the Convention to be concluded by this Conference, or at least they should mention in the Convention that the penalty will not be less than that provided for misdemeanors.

"3. That it is desirable that the import and export permits referred to in the Convention should be drawn up in such a way as to make it difficult for contraband dealers to forge them."

CHAPTER IV OF THE HAGUE OPIUM CONVENTION: CHINA AND THE TREATY POWERS

Early in the Second Conference, Mr. Sze presented the following memorandum and proposals as to the action to be taken by the Powers for giving effective application to the undertakings embodied in Chapter IV of the Hague Opium Convention:

Above other nations, China is suffering by reason of the illicit trade in narcotic drugs. Besides the debasing effects of these drugs upon her people, there is the further circumstance that their widespread use enters as a discouraging element in the effort which the Government and the people are making to suppress the production and consumption of prepared opium which are illegal under Chinese law. It is, therefore, of special concern to China that the Governments of the countries where these drugs are manufactured should adopt common and effective regulations regarding their manufacture, export, re-export, trans-shipment, and transit with the view of confining traffic in them to their strictly medicinal and scientific uses.

China, which manufactures none of these drugs, will, upon her part, do all that is within her governmental power to control their importation into China, their trans-shipment and re-exportation,

and will thus, in every possible way, co-operate with the other Powers in their efforts to solve the world-problem of confining the traffic in these drugs to strictly scientific and medical purposes.

And, as regards the trade in, and the use of, these drugs within China, the Government of China will use all its powers, legislative and administrative, to prevent their use for other than the purposes which science and medicine approve. In most countries this is a task the performance of which is not directly dependent upon the co-operation of other Governments, but, in China, by reason of the existence of the extra-territorial rights of the nationals of a number of the other Powers, as well, also, as by reason of the existence within China of areas within which some of the Treaty Powers are permitted to exercise certain administrative powers, it is necessary that the Government of China should obtain the hearty co-operation of these Powers in order that it may efficiently control the narcotic problem.

For the control of her own citizens over whom she has full administrative jurisdiction, the Chinese Government has enacted comprehensive and stringent laws which it enforces to the extent of its powers, but with regard to those of her citizens who live within the above-mentioned areas, as well with regard to the nationals of those Powers within these areas, and the nationals outside these areas who enjoy extra-territorial privileges, China is

largely, if not wholly, dependent upon the co-operation of the Powers for the effective control of the use of narcotics. This fact is recognized in Chapter IV of the Hague Convention of 1912 which provides for harmonious and co-operative action between the Signatory Powers and China.

China has sought loyally to fulfill the obligations thus assumed by her, but she has thus far failed to receive full co-operation upon the part of the Powers as regards the action required to be taken under Article 16; namely, that diplomatic representatives of those Powers at Peking should examine the pharmacy laws regulating the sale and distribution of morphine, cocaine, their respective salts and other substances referred to in Article 14 of the Convention, enacted by the Chinese Government and communicated to them, with a view, if found acceptable, to applying them to their own nationals residing in China. And, furthermore, the Chinese delegation is constrained to say with reference to the laws of some of the Powers, for the control of their own nationals in China, that the penalties they impose seem scarcely severe enough efficently to attain the purposes for which they have been enacted, nor are they, in all cases, vigorously and uniformly enforced by the officials of the Powers concerned. This observation applies also to laws for the punishment of smuggling of opium and narcotic drugs into China.

Therefore, in order that the present unsatisfac-

tory conditions may be corrected, the Chinese delegation requests that, in substance, the following provisions be included in the Convention which, it is to be hoped, will result from the labors of this Conference.

1. That the existing laws and regulations and administrative processes of the Signatory Powers shall be so strengthened and perfected as to prevent the exportation, importation, trans-shipment, transit and re-exportation of opium, except as provided for in Chapter II of the Hague Convention of 1912, and of morphine, heroin, cocaine and other narcotic drugs except in amounts needed for strictly medicinal and scientific purposes.

2. That prompt examination of, and action not later than April 1, 1925, with regard to the application to their own nationals of the pharmacy laws of the Chinese Republic regulating the sale, possession, and distribution of narcotic drugs shall be made by the Powers enjoying extra-territorial rights in China, as provided for in Article 15 of the Hague Convention.

3. That the Powers which enjoy extra-territorial rights in China shall either apply Chinese laws to their nationals for contraventions against Chinese laws prohibiting the cultivation, sale, transport or trade in opium and other narcotics, or enact adequate laws regulating these matters which shall provide that the violation of these laws by their nationals shall be punishable by fines whose amounts

shall be multiples of the values at the places where the offenses are committed of the drugs concerned and, in addition, by terms of imprisonment, and, at the expiration of such terms, deportation of the party or parties concerned from China and prohibition thereafter to return to China.

4. That the Powers enjoying extra-territorial rights in China shall either apply to their own nationals in China the laws of China with regard to the smuggling or attempted smuggling into China of opium or narcotic drugs, or strengthen their own laws by attaching to them penalties for their violation which shall include fines the amounts of which shall be multiples of the values of the opium or drugs concerned, together with terms of imprisonment, at the expiration of which terms the party or parties shall be deported from China and forbidden thereafter to return to China.

Reciprocally, China will adopt measures to prevent the smuggling out of China by her own nationals of opium or narcotic drugs into the territories and possessions of the Contracting Parties.

5. That, if the smuggling of opium or the aforesaid drugs into China or their sale in China or their attempted smuggling or sale, is by or with the connivance of the officers of a ship, the ship also shall be subject to a fine equal in amount to a multiple of the local value of the goods smuggled or sold or sought to be smuggled or sold.

6. That the trial of foreign nationals who enjoy extra-territorial rights in China for offenses referred to in the preceding paragraphs shall be in open court, and that, at such trials, Chinese assessors may be present.

November 24, 1924.

At the fourth meeting of the Second General Committee, in explanation and support of the proposals in the foregoing memorandum, Mr. Sze said:

I do not propose to detain you for more than a minute or two, but I wish to offer a word of explanation. I have heard it whispered that there has been some misapprehension regarding the few simple proposals I have laid before you. I have been told I was going to raise the question of extra-territoriality. Let me say at once that there is no such intention in my mind, although I have always felt, and still feel, that the extra-territoriality imposed on China is unjust and unfair and should be removed as soon as possible. I do not, however, propose to raise that question here.

The second proposal which I have made only asks the Powers signatories of the Hague Convention of 1912 and having extra-territorial rights in China to carry out their side of the pledge given faithfully in 1912. In the other proposals I do not raise the question of extra-territoriality at all. I simply ask you—and everyone knows that some-

thing must be done—to tighten up the regime for the prevention of smuggling, not only in the interests of China but in your own interests and in the interests of humanity; for smuggling must be checked, and stopped if possible. I ask you, therefore, either to adopt the Chinese laws on these questions or, if you find that inconvenient, to strengthen your own laws.

I do not insist that you adopt the Chinese suggestion—that is to say: that the Powers having extra-territorial rights should do so. Ladies and gentlemen, I beg you to examine very carefully the proposals I have put before you and in which I have not raised the question of extra-territoriality.

As some of you know from the pamphlets which have been circulated by the United States of America, there are treaties in existence between China and the United States of America, and you will have seen that the United States, as far back as 1844, conceded to China rights much fuller than anything in the proposals which I have put before you. So I am not asking you to make any sacrifice at all. But I do ask you, for your own protection and for the protection of humanity, apart from carrying out the Hague Convention, that something should be done, and done on those lines. I hope I have made it clear—and I will emphasize that fact once more before I sit down—that I do not raise the question of extra-territoriality, bad

as that question is, but I simply ask you to do something which you pledged yourselves to do as long ago as 1912.

Later on at the same meeting, he said:

While I appreciate the statement made by the distinguished delegate of the British Empire, he will perhaps allow me to point out that he has so far only approached my proposal from one end. There are certain things to which Great Britain is also a party and regarding which she has not acted promptly. I have in mind particularly the pharmacy laws—my second proposal—which, under the Hague Convention, China had to submit to those Powers having extra-territorial rights and which they were to agree to and adopt.

The Chinese Government communicated those pharmacy laws to the Diplomatic Body on March 1, 1923, and, at the end of one year and five months had no answer. So it asked the Diplomatic Body repeatedly how long it would take to examine those laws, and on August 8, 1924, it had not yet received an answer.

From March 1, 1923, till August 8, 1924, is a long time, even making full allowance for the distance from China to Europe or to America. While appreciating Sir Malcolm Delevingne's statement of the readiness of Great Britain to meet China, I must be permitted to point out that, so far, Great Britain has only met us from certain angles and not from all angles.

As to the interesting proposal made by Sir Malcolm Delevingne, I have no objection to make if you appoint a special Sub-Committee to discuss the matter or if you refer it to any particular Sub-Committee or to this Committee; but, as I said in the First Conference, I am a practical man, and I want to see results, and to see results quickly. If, however, it is the wish of this Conference to appoint a Sub-Committee, may I request that that Sub-Committee should not be limited to the seven or eight Powers which are specially interested in regard to extra-territorial rights. Others are equally interested, because whatever is decided on the question of the suppression of smuggling in China will react on other countries. Therefore I would request, in the event of this Conference deciding to appoint a Sub-Committee, that that Sub-Committee should be fortified by having the advantage of neutral opinions, so that the interests of those most nearly concerned should not dominate. We want to have impartial opinions.

Now, Mr. President and members of the Conference, there is nothing extraordinary in this request, because, as we have seen, we have in Sub-Committee A, for instance, members representing manufacturing countries and we have also the benefit of the presence of members representing the consuming countries, so that, whatever decision may be reached, it will not be too much influenced by the views of those who are interested in the matter, but the opinion of those who are neutral will also be available.

I am very much obliged to Sir Malcolm Delevingne for his information regarding the British Government's action with reference to China's pharmacy laws. I wish the British Government had seen fit to notify the Chinese Government to that effect in due time. But the point I raised was the inaction on the part of the Powers. Notwithstanding Sir Malcolm Delevingne's reply, nobody can deny the fact that there has been inaction on the part of the Powers towards China.

Now as to the reference of my proposals to a Sub-Committee, or to this Committee, I leave that question entirely in the hands of the President and of the Conference. All I want is that something should be done. I must say that I do not propose to go out of my way to attack any people in the Sub-Committee or this Committee with regard to the wrongs they have done China, because it is disagreeable to me, and they are too well known.

I have purposely avoided doing so—though everybody knows that China has been very badly treated by some Powers at least—because it is disagreeable to me.

I can state China's policy in two or three words. China's policy is friendship to all and enmity towards none. My sole idea is to show the Powers that it is not only in the interests of China but in their own interests and in the interests of the world that they should honor their word, the promises

they have given to China. I am not proposing to throw mud at anybody, because that does not do any good. I propose to look forward and not backward. With this assurance I have no doubt the members of this Conference will see the justice of my cause and will try to meet me. I am not asking any of the delegations to make any sacrifice for the sake of China; I am asking them to do an act of justice. I ask them to fulfill something that they are pledged to do.

A smaller Committee of the Conference of the interested Powers having been created for the consideration of the proposals regarding Chapter IV of the Hague Convention of 1912, the Chinese delegation circularized to the members[1] of that Committee the following revised draft of its proposals:

The Chinese delegation asks of the Powers participating here, which have extra-territorial rights in China, the following action:

I. That the Powers will give prompt consideration to the matter of applying to their nationals in China the Pharmacy Laws of the Chinese Republic, if such Laws be found acceptable, and, in particular, the Regulation for the Registration of Chinese and Foreign Pharmacies as stated in the Memoran-

[1] Great Britain, France, Japan, United States, Portugal, Spain, Italy, Belgium, Sweden, and Switzerland.

dum of the Chinese Government submitted to the Advisory Committee of the League of Nations on Traffic in Opium and Other Narcotics on August 2, 1924, and published as Annex 4 to the Minutes of the Sixth Session of said Advisory Committee. And that, at the latest, decision as to the foregoing shall be given before January 1, 1926.

II. That the Powers will take any and all such action as will permit the Republic of China to apply, to the extent needed, the system of export and import certificates as recommended by the League of Nations or any similar system adopted by any of the Signatory Powers and China.

III. That the Powers will issue instructions to their nationals, pharmacies, hospitals, and other establishments or companies in the Republic of China to furnish to the Chinese Government such statistics and other information as to opium and narcotic or habit-forming drugs imported by them into China or sold, used, or held in stock by them in China as will aid the Chinese Government in determining its per capita medicinal and scientific needs for opium and the aforesaid drugs.

IV. That the Powers will make every possible effort to cause their several laws and regulations regarding the smuggling of opium and narcotic or habit-forming drugs into China and the illegal possession, transportation, sale, dispensing and use of opium and the aforesaid drugs in China to be uniform in character, and especially as to the penalties imposable for violation of them.

V. That the Powers will provide that the penalties imposable for violations of the laws and regulations referred to in Paragraph IV of this Agreement shall be of sufficient severity to have a highly deterrent effect, and that, in any case, when one is convicted of second offense thereunder, he or she shall be sentenced to a term of imprisonment, and, at the expiration of such term, if he or she is in China, deported therefrom and forbidden under heavy penalties to return thereto.

VI. That the Powers will make provision for the public trial of all persons accused of violating the aforesaid laws and regulations.

CHINA'S MINIMUM DEMAND STATED

At the twenty-third meeting of the Second Conference when there was before it a proposal for an adjournment presented by M. Sjöstrand, of the delegation of Sweden, Mr. Sze said:

I rise with all seriousness to say a few words with reference to the proposal submitted to the Conference by the distinguished delegate of Sweden. This is not the first time that I have had the honor of addressing the Conference on the desirability or necessity or wisdom of an adjournment. When the last adjournment was proposed, before the Christmas vacation, it was with much concern, as I told you yesterday, that I gave my assent. It is with no less concern that I rise today to give my assent; I hope that this adjournment, though only for a space of two days, will bring us results acceptable to all, results upon which we may look with pride and admiration.

In giving my assent to the proposal that there should be an adjournment in order to afford an opportunity for a possible harmonizing of the several proposals or suggestions that have been made regarding the control of the traffic in prepared opium, it is appropriate that I should say that any proposal that may be presented to this Conference, in order to be acceptable to my country, will have to be one that gives definite assurances that within

a reasonable period of time, the termination of which can be clearly foreseen, the legalized traffic in prepared opium in those territories and possessions where it is now temporarily permitted by law will be brought to an end. It is my duty, in giving my assent to the new proposal of adjournment, to state my position clearly.

FINAL APPEAL TO THE SECOND CONFERENCE

At the fourth and final meeting of the Committee of Sixteen which had been appointed to devise, if possible, some means of overcoming the differences of opinions and policies regarding the matter of the effective suppression of the traffic in and consumption of prepared opium, Mr. Sze made the following "Final Appeal" to those delegations which had declared their unwillingness to agree to measures that would bring to an early end the legalized smoking of opium within their respective territories or possessions:

It is with great regret that I hear from the report made by the Rapporteur of the Sub-Committee of Five that no agreement has been reached by that Sub-Committee in the course of the last two or three days. Although the hour may be late, although it is nearly twelve, I am inclined to think that the clock has not yet struck, and I hope that my fellow-delegates will pardon me for my insistence in making another appeal that something may be done for humanity, because it is agreed by all of us that the practice of opium-smoking is deleterious to health and degrading socially and morally. If that is the fact, why should we not make another effort?

I have referred recently to the effects upon the world of what we do or fail to do here, and I dwelt at some length upon the effects in the Far East and in particular upon my people. For this reason, I hope the members of the Conference will permit me to make another appeal to those delegations which cannot accept the United States suggestions, and particularly I make my appeal to the distinguished member of the British delegation, Lord Cecil.

His Lordship has stated on a previous occasion that it is the practice of the British Government to attach very great weight to the opinions of its colonial authorities as to the policies to be adopted in the colonies or possessions where such officials are stationed. He took occasion to laud not only their practical wisdom but their disinterestedness. As to this, I must qualify my assent. By this I do not mean to assert that these officials are disposed deliberately, and from selfish motives, to give advice other than that which their judgment and conscience approve; but I do say that experience has again and again shown that officials are, as a rule, disposed to oppose changes in the systems of control and in the policies to which they have been accustomed, or, what amounts to the same thing, to defend the *status quo*.

As a single but striking evidence of this, I would draw the attention of Lord Cecil and of his advisers to the fact that, at the time when the abolition of human slavery in the British West Indies was being

urged, it was practically the unanimous opinion of the British officials in those islands that slavery was justifiable and that it would be a mistake to attempt to do away with it.

It may be of interest to the British delegation, as well as to the other delegations which, upon the advice of their colonial officials, deem it impracticable to take immediate steps to suppress that form of slavery which is due to addiction to the use of prepared opium, to recall what Gladstone upon one occasion said in the House of Commons: "I do not think," he declared, "that in this matter we ought to be guided exclusively, perhaps even principally, by those who may consider themselves great experts. It is a very sad thing to say, but unquestionably it happens not infrequently in human affairs that those who ought from their situation to know the most and the best yet from prejudice and prepossessions know the least and the worst. Eminently it was the case in the grest question of the West Indian slavery, when this House and the country for a long time were discouraged and abashed by the assurance that those who were in favor of that great and radical change were in favor of it only because they did not understand the negro character. I certainly, for ny part, do not propose to abide finally and decisively by official opinion."

In the First Opium Conference, the Chinese delegation made every possible effort to have the participating Powers agree to adopt measures which

would, by their necessary operation, if strictly administered, lead to an early end the legalized use of prepared opium within their several jurisdictions These obligations the Powers refused to assume. In this Second Conference, there is given to these Powers an opportunity to reconsider their refusal.

That great official, Sir Robert Hart, dealing with another matter, once used words which have application to the problem with which we have to deal. As to the treatment to be accorded to the Chinese, he said: "Respect and not contempt; conciliation and not dictation; appreciation and not differential treatment—try this prescription, and you will have a healthy body politic. And until this is done, it will be the reverse."

I beg the Powers under whose jurisdiction large numbers of Chinese dwell to bear these words in mind. These Powers now stand at the parting of the ways. It is for them to determine whether they will show a due regard for the interest of these people, upon whose labor, as they themselves confess, their economic and commercial prosperity so largely depends, and thus gain the gratitude of the millions of Chinese living in China; or whether they will show themselves regardless of the moral and physical welfare of these, their wards, and thus render themselves liable to the charge that they have not that respect for the welfare of the Chinese which they have for their own people—that they have one law of ethical obligation for the West and another for the East.

WITHDRAWAL OF THE CHINESE DELEGATION FROM THE SECOND CONFERENCE

At the twenty-sixth meeting of the Second Conference there were presented the following letter and memorandum from the Chinese delegation:

February 7, 1925.

His Excellency M. Herluf Zahle,
President, Second Opium Conference,
League of Nations, Geneva.

Dear Mr. President:

I have the honor to inform you that, for reasons given in the Memorandum herein enclosed, the Chinese delegation is convinced that its further participation in the Second Opium Conference will serve no useful purpose. May I ask that this Memorandum be communicated to the Conference?

It is with profound regret that my delegation has felt constrained to take up this position, but, in view of the failure of the Conference to arrive at any satisfactory agreement with regard to the measures to be taken for the suppression of the use of prepared opium, it has felt that no other course is open to it.

Permit me to avail myself of this opportunity, on behalf of my delegation, to assure you and the members of the Conference and the members of the Secretariat of the League of Nations of our appreciation of, and thanks for, the courtesies shown to us.

(Signed) SAO-KE ALFRED SZE.

MEMORANDUM

At the twenty-third meeting of the Conference, at the time when an adjournment of this body was moved in order that opportunity might be given to find, if possible, some means of elucidating and co-ordinating the various proposals, declarations, and suggestions that had been made by different delegations with reference to the measures to be agreed upon by the Powers here represented for the progressive suppression of the use of prepared opium in those territories and possessions in which such use is still permitted by law, the Chinese delegation had the honor to say that, in giving its assent to the motion, no proposal which might be presented to the Conference would be acceptable to China which did not give definite assurance that, within a reasonable period of time, the termination of which could be clearly foreseen, the legalized traffic in prepared opium would be brought to an end.

It is now apparent from the formal proposals that have been made by the delegations of Great Britain, France, the Netherlands, and Portugal, and insisted upon in the Committee of Sixteen and the Sub-Committee of Five of that Committee, that the Governments they represent are not, at this time, prepared to agree to adopt measures which will meet the desires of the Chinese Government as thus stated.

It is the sincere hope of China that, in the near future, the policies of these Governments will have so altered that they can see their way to the common adoption of measures that will lead to the early and total suppression of that legalized traffic which is now bringing such misery and moral degradation to the hundreds of thousands of the citizens of China living within their respective territories and possessions. When that time comes, the Government and the people of China will be glad to co-operate to the extent of their ability.

The present conditions in China, which, unfortunately, have made it impossible for the Government of China to obtain effective enforcement of its policy of prohibiting the production of opium and its use for other than medicinal and scientific purposes, are temporary in character. The Government of China gives the assurance that it will not depart from this policy with regard to opium, and that it will, at all times, exert all the executive and administrative power possessed by it to enforce that policy. This the Government of China now does, and will continue to do, independently and without regard to the action of other Powers. It is the hope of the Government and the people of China that, reciprocally with their independent effort to suppress the production and control the use of opium within the borders of China, the other Powers will, on their part, make every effort to prevent illegal traffic in opium and narcotic drugs

and progressively to suppress the legalized use of prepared opium.

Inasmuch as it appears that those Powers within whose territories or possessions the use of prepared opium is still permitted by law are not prepared to agree to the inclusion, within the Convention to be adopted by this Conference, of any undertakings whatsoever regarding the progressive suppression of such use, and inasmuch as it is the opinion of the Chinese delegation that the adoption of such undertakings is essential in order fully to effect the purposes which, as declared in Resolution VI of the Fourth Assembly of the League of Nations, this Conference was assembled to achieve, the Chinese delegation deems no good purpose will be served by its further continuance in the Conference, and it is therefore constrained to cease its participation therein.

ANNEXES TO PART II

Annex I

The Secretary-General of the Conference was instructed by the President to circulate the following letter from Mr. T. Z. Koo, representative of the National Anti-Opium Association:

4 Chemin du Square, Geneva.

December 11, 1924.

His Excellency Herluf Zahle,
President of the Second Opium Conference,
Geneva.

Your Excellency:

This letter which deals with a matter of great concern to the Chinese people is addressed to you with the request that it be circulated to the members of the Second Opium Conference. I take this method of communicating with the Conference, instead of again asking its permission to address it in person, in order that I may not encroach further upon its valuable time. I would, however, again call attention to the fact that I speak as the representative of the National Anti-Opium Association of China which is a federal body speaking for the millions of my countrymen who are determined

that the use of prepared opium by the Chinese people, wherever they may be, shall, if possible, be brought to an end.

I have made a careful examination of the Agreement reached by the First Opium Conference and regret to say that I find it of such a character that, in my opinion and in the opinion of those for whom I speak, if ratified, and put into effect in its present form, it will mark a decided step backward rather than forward in the movement for the release of the world from the evils with which the Second as well as the First Conference is concerned.

1. Chapter II of the Hague Convention of 1912 laid a clear obligation upon the signatory powers to take measures for the gradual and effective suppression of the manufacture of, internal trade in, and the use of, prepared opium. Avoiding all legal and technical phraseology, the First Opium Conference was called with the purpose of carrying those measures for the gradual and effective suppression of prepared opium one stage further towards complete suppression. Judged in this light, the First Conference has signally failed to achieve the purpose for which it was convened. The Agreement reached, after such an expenditure of time and thought, is more an acknowledgment of failure to deal with the opium situation in the Far East than anything else.

2. The Agreement in question several times cites the contraband opium trade as the principal cause

preventing the effective suppression of the use of prepared opium. Opinions differ on this point. But, granting it to be true, what provision is there in the Agreement to deal with the contraband trade in an effective way, except the provision for the exchange of information? If this contraband trade is affecting the effectiveness of anti-opium measures in the Far East so seriously, then the First Conference should not have risen until it had dealt with the problem thoroughly so that any future anti-opium measures might not be subject to the same menace. I failed to see during the deliberations of the Conferecne and I do not see in this present Agreement any real desire to deal with this problem. The principal impression received by observers is that this contraband trade is brought forward in the Conference whenever any power wants a convenient excuse for inaction or delay.

3. I am not a judge of the English language, but in studying the Agreement, I cannot find any definite obligation laid upon the Powers to work towards the goal of total suppression. The document contains such phrases as "as soon as circumstances permit," "as much as possible," "examine . . . . the *possibility* of taking legislative measures," which to me sound like plain evasions. In the matter of goverment monopolies, of retail shops, of opium dens, and of registration of smokers, no principle of gradual elimination on some definite scale is adopted. On the other hand, one

gathers the impression that the powers are anxious to see these practices maintained for an indefinite time.

4. The Agreement in question is also silent on that part of Resolution 5 adopted by the Fourth Assembly of the League of Nations on September 27, 1923, bearing on the problem of opium smoking. I refer to the clause which invites the Governments to take measures for "a reduction of the amount of raw opium to be imported for the purpose of smoking in those territories where it is temporarily continued." This provision, in our opinion, is essential in leading to the eventual suppression of opium smoking. Yet, the present Agreement ignores it entirely.

5. The Agreement is a clear indication of the policy of European Governments to dally with an evil as long as it does not threaten their own nationals. "Why should we worry," they appear to say, "when, by continuing our present practices, we are not only guaranteeing a certain profit for our own treasuries, but, at the same time, are strengthening our hold over alien peoples by fastening upon them a habit which will steadily sap their vitality and undermine their manhood." One of the delegations, during the course of the First Conference, actually proposed that opium dens should be closed to Europeans while, presumably, it would have no compunction in seeing them open to Asiatics. Should not such a standard of international morality be repudiated?

Telegraphic instructions received by me yesterday from the National Anti-Opium Association fully endorse the position I have set forth in the preceding paragraphs. In refusing to accept the Agreement as satisfactory, the Second Opium Conference will be acting in accordance with the expressed wish of the Chinese people. We, seeing the inability of the Central Government, under the present political conditions, to enforce its anti-opium laws in the provinces, have risen to lend our support to this cause. The people have sent me here that I may, on my return, engage in an extensive tour in China to bring directly to our people encouraging news from these two Conferences. The National Anti-Opium Association of China is, therefore, not content with denouncing this worthless Agreement; it also wishes to have this question brought before the Second Conference for reconsideration, with a view to securing the adoption of more effective measures for the suppression of the manufacture of, internal trade in, and the use of, prepared opium. May I, then, formally request you, on behalf of the National Anti-Opium Association, to seek the earliest opportunity to have this question brought before the Second Conference for reconsideration?

I remain, Your Excellency, with high esteem,

Your obedient servant,

(Signed) T. Z. Koo,

Representative, National Anti-Opium Association.

Annex II

THE CHINESE DELEGATION TO THE INTERNATIONAL OPIUM CONFERENCES AT GENEVA

Plenipotentiary Delegates:

Mr. Sao-Ke Alferd Sze, Ambassador, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Washington. Formerly Imperial Commissioner to the Moukden Plague Conference; Minister of Communications, of Finance and of Foreign Affairs; Minister Plenipotentiary to the Court of St. James; Chief Delegate at the Washington Conference of 1921-1922.

Mr. Wang Kouang-Ky, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at the Hague. Formerly Chief Secretary of the Cabinet and Minister Plenipotentiary to Belgium and Italy.

Mr. Chao-hsin Chu, Minister Plenipotentiary, Charge d'Affaires in London. Former Senator, Professor of Economics at the University of Peking.

Counsellor and Expert:

Proffessor W. W. Willoughby, Professor of Political Science at the Johns Hopkins Univer-

sity. Formerly Legal Adviser to the Chinese Government; Political Expert of the Chinese Delegation to the Washington Conference.

Experts:

Dr. Venfour Tchou, Secretary of the Chinese Legation in Washington.

Mr. Tchou Che-tsien, Secretary of the Chinese Legation in Paris.

Mr. William Hsieh, Secretary of the Chinese Legation at the Hague.

Mr. Telly Koo, Secretary of the Ministery of Foreign Affairs.

Experts and Secretaries:

Mr. Wang Tsuan-tsu, Attaché to the Chinese Legation in Lisbon.

Dr. Clarence Kuangson Young, Attaché to the Chinese Legation in Washington.

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